8/26/2014

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1
         IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
         FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
               CORPUS CHRISTI DIVISION
MARK VEASEY, et al.,
                             Ş
             Plaintiffs,
                             8
                             § Civil Action Number
vs.
                            § 2:13-cv-193(NGR)
                             S
RICK PERRY, et al.,
                            Ş
             Defendants.
                 ORAL DEPOSITION OF
                  JEFFREY MILYO, PhD
                   AUGUST 26, 2014
```

ORAL DEPOSITION OF JEFFREY MILYO, PhD, produced as a witness at the instance of the Plaintiffs Texas State Conference of NAACP Branches, Mexican American Legislative Caucus of the Texas House of Representatives, and duly sworn, was taken in the above-styled and numbered cause on AUGUST 26, 2014, from 8:59 a.m. to 6:30 p.m., before Melody Reneé Campbell, CSR in and for the State of Texas, reported by method of machine shorthand, at the Law Offices of Dechert LLP, 300 West Sixth Street, Austin, Texas, pursuant to Notice the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

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21
22
23
24
25
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17		*_*_*_*	
18			
19			
20			
21			
22			
23			
24			
25			

```
6
1
                   MR. ROSENBERG:
                                    Before we begin,
2
   we'll put our appearances on the record.
3
   Rosenberg on behalf of the Texas State Conference of
4
   NAACP Branches and the Mexican-American Legislative
5
   Caucus.
6
                   MR. POSNER:
                                Mark Posner for the same
7
   clients.
8
                   MR. FREEMAN: Dan Freeman on behalf
9
   of the United States.
10
                   MR. DELLHEIM: Richard Dellheim for
11
   the United States.
12
                               Toby Moore for the United
                   MR. MOORE:
13
   States.
14
                   MS. COHAN:
                               Lindsey Cohan for the
15
   same clients as Mr. Rosenberg and Mr. Posner.
16
                   MR. KEISTER: Ronny Keister for the
17
   defendants.
18
                                    And I just heard
                   MR. ROSENBERG:
19
   another beep, so I think there are three people on
20
   the line. Could they enter their appearances,
21
   please?
22
                   MS. FARANSSO:
                                   This is Tonia Faransso
   on behalf of the Texas League of Young Voters.
23
24
                   MR. AGRAHARKAR:
                                     This is Vishal
25
   Agraharkar on behalf of Texas NAACP and MALC.
```

```
7
1
                   MR. DOGGETT:
                                 This is Robert Doggett
2
   on behalf of the Ortiz plaintiffs.
3
                     JEFFREY MILYO, PhD,
4
   having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:
5
                         EXAMINATION
6
   BY MR. ROSENBERG:
7
              Okay. Is it Dr. Milyo or Professor Milyo?
         Ο.
8
   Which do you prefer?
9
              I'm easy. Whichever you prefer. You can
         Α.
   call me Mr. Milyo, if you like.
10
11
              I'll try Professor Milyo. Is that good?
         O.
12
              That would be fine. That's what my wife
         Α.
13
   calls me.
14
              Mine doesn't.
         Ο.
15
                   Professor Milyo, first of all, have
   you ever been deposed before?
16
17
              Yes, I have.
         Α.
18
              How many times?
         O.
19
              I believe it's three times.
         Α.
20
              Okay. We will get into what they were.
         Ο.
21
   But even though you've been deposed in the past,
22
   it's always helpful to refresh your knowledge of
23
   what the instructions are for these kinds of
24
   proceedings.
25
                   You understand that you're under
```

8 1 oath? 2 Α. Yes. 3 You understand that what you're saying is O. 4 being taken down by the court reporter? 5 Α. Yes. 6 And it's going to be put into a little Ο. 7 book called the transcript that may be used in these proceedings. Do you understand that? 8 9 Α. Yes. 10 And because of that, it's important that O. 11 you understand the questions that I ask before you 12 answer. Okay? 13 Α. Yes. 14 If you don't understand, please tell me Ο. 15 right away, and I will do my best to clarify things 16 for you. Okay? 17 I will do my best. Α. 18 It's also important -- you've been doing Ο. 19 very good so far -- that you answer orally. Shrugs 20 of the shoulder, nods of the head can't be taken 21 down by the court reporter. Okay? 22 Α. I will do my best. 23 And, also, this is not meant to be a test Ο. 24 of endurance for anyone but me. So if at any time 25 you need a break, so long as there's not a question

```
9
1
   pending, please tell me, and we'll take a break.
2
   Okay?
3
         Α.
              Yes.
4
              Do you have any questions of me before we
         Q.
5
   begin?
6
         Α.
              Not at this time.
7
              Is there any reason that you're not able
   to testify completely and honestly and accurately
8
9
   today?
              I don't believe so.
10
11
              Okay. Great. By the way, what's your
         Ο.
12
   date of birth?
13
              I was born on April 9th, 1964.
         Α.
14
              Okay. And let me mark, because we'll
         Ο.
15
   probably be referring back to them from time to
16
   time, a few documents. And we'll mark this one as
17
   the first document. We'll call that Milyo 1.
18
                   (Exhibit Number 1 marked.)
19
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) And if you could look
         Ο.
20
   at that and tell me what Milyo 1 is.
21
              This appears to be a copy of a report that
         Α.
22
            I'm trying to check, based on the date,
23
   whether it included some corrections or not. And
24
   actually I'm blanking on the date, whether it's the
25
   latest or not.
```

```
10
 1
        0.
             I'll help you. Let's have this one marked
2
    as Milyo Exhibit 2.
3
                  (Exhibit Number 2 marked.)
4
        A.
             This probably helps. So this looks to
5
    be --
6
                   MR. KEISTER: You have to say --
7
             (BY MR. ROSENBERG) This being Milyo
8
   Exhibit 2.
9
        Α.
              Milyo 2. I'm sorry. Milyo 2 appears to
10
   be -- it's titled Supplemental Rebuttal Declaration,
11
   so this was done shortly after the Rebuttal
12
   Declaration.
13
             Is it fair to say that Milyo Exhibit 2
        Q.
14
    supersedes Milyo Exhibit 1 in the sense that Milyo 1
15
    and Milyo 2 are identical except for several
16
    changes? And we can go through what those changes
    are. But, otherwise, they are completely identical?
17
18
             I believe there are a handful of changes.
19
    And my recollection is that they are otherwise
20
   identical.
21
              And just to perhaps make it easier in
        0.
22
    terms of the changes, let me give you another
23
    exhibit which we'll mark as Milyo Exhibit 3.
24
                   (Exhibit Number 3 marked.)
25
         Q.
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) And if you'll look at
```

```
11
1
   that, I will represent to you that that's a document
2
   that was sent to me by David Whitley from
3
   Mr. Keister's office. And he was kind enough to
4
   send me a redlined copy of Milyo Exhibit 2. And if
   you want to take a look at that and see if that, in
5
6
   fact, contains the changes.
7
                   And I'm looking at them, making sure
   I've given you the right document because I don't
8
9
   want -- yes.
                  Okay.
10
                   I think you can look through each
11
   page and you'll see that there are redline changes.
12
             Milyo 3 has a date of August 1st. So it's
13
   not immediately clear to me how this would be the
14
   same as Milyo 2.
15
              That's interesting. And when you say date
        Q.
16
   of August 1st on the signature page -- huh.
                                                  That
17
   will be something that we'll have to ask some
18
   questions about, then. Because I will represent
19
   that I did receive this from Mr. Whitley's office as
20
   your report. But thanks for pointing that out.
21
                   Then what we'll do is, we will use
22
   Milyo Exhibit 2 as the operative report. Is that
23
   fair?
24
              I don't know. You've got three reports in
25
   front of me.
```

12 1 O. 2.. I said Exhibit 2. 2 What I'm trying to answer is, you've Α. Yes. 3 just represented to me that Milyo 3 is more recent 4 than Milyo 2. 5 No, no. Q. 6 I know that it has a title that's the same 7 as Milyo 1 and not Milyo 2. So I'm a little 8 confused with what you're handing me and what you're 9 representing. 10 And I appreciate that, because I'm equally 11 confused. As I said, I received this one from the 12 Attorney General's Office. 13 But we'll use Milyo Exhibit 2, which 14 you have identified. Is that correct? 15 I have not looked at it at length. So it Α. appears to be a copy of the most recent report. 16 17 Right. And we'll -- and you have the Q. 18 right and the ability to look at it for as long as 19 you want, if you want to make sure it is what we're 20 saying it is. Okay? 21 All right. Looking at Milyo 22 Exhibit 2, it contains -- no, it actually doesn't. 23 We'll use Milyo Exhibit 1 because that's the only 24 one that contains your CV. 25 So let's just take a look at your CV

13 1 that's attached to Milyo Exhibit 1. Okay. Is that 2 your CV? 3 This looks to be a copy of my CV, yes. Α. 4 Great. And just for the court reporter's Ο. 5 knowledge, this document has been marked as highly 6 confidential. So the testimony concerning Professor 7 Milyo's reports, at least for present purposes, will be deemed highly confidential because it was so 8 9 designated by the Attorney General's Office. 10 MR. KEISTER: Okay. 11 Ο. (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Have there been any 12 updates to your CV since you submitted this report? 13 I don't recall making an update. Updates 14 to my CV are something I do on a running basis, so I 15 don't want to answer that with 100 percent 16 confidence. But I don't recall any substantive 17 updates. 18 Okay. Are there any updates you would Ο. 19 want to make that aren't -- that you didn't make? 20 I haven't thought about it. Α. 21 Okay. A few quick questions. From 1986 0. 22 to 1994, throughout the time, were you trying to get 23 your PhD at Stanford, or were you doing something 24 else also? 25 Α. During that time, I did other things.

14 1 O. Are they listed on your resume? 2 Α. I don't believe so. 3 What other things did you do? Q. 4 I'm going off of my recollection, off the Α. 5 top of my head. Let's see. Is there a year you 6 would like to start in? 7 Ο. 1986. 8 Let's see, that was a while ago. Α. Ι 9 believe -- to the best of my recollection, you'll 10 understand. 11 Ο. Sure. 12 -- that I graduated the University of 13 Connecticut in May or June of that year, whatever 14 the regular graduation date was. I don't recall my 15 summer employment offhand. 16 The next fall of 1986, I began the 17 doctoral program at Stanford University. 18 Other than being in the doctoral program Ο. 19 at Stanford University between 1986 and 1994, did 20 you have any other employment? 21 Α. Yes. 22 With whom? Q. 23 Would you like to do this chronologically? Α. 24 Sure, let's do it chronologically. Ο. 25 Α. Okay. And, again, this is to the best of

```
15
1
   my recollection. It's not something -- obviously
2
   it's not on the CV.
3
        Ο.
              Understood.
4
              So -- in 1986, I'm fairly certain I would
        Α.
5
   have worked some sort of summer employment that
6
   year, although we're talking about 28 years ago, I
7
   quess, so you'll have to forgive me. My mind is a
   little fuzzy. I could hazard a guess if that were
8
   important to you.
9
10
              Well, I don't want you to guess. Just
        O.
11
   tell me what you remember.
              And so the fall of 1986, I believe I was
12
13
   on a fellowship at Stanford that first year, so that
14
   would not be considered employment.
15
              Okay. What's next?
        Q.
16
              Well, next would be 1987. As we move into
        Α.
17
   the spring of 1987, I would still be on fellowship
18
   at Stanford University.
19
                   That summer of 1987, I believe I had
20
   another fellowship that supported some independent
21
   research activity during the summer. Or maybe it
22
   would be better characterized as independent study
23
   activity.
24
              Who funded that fellowship?
        Ο.
25
        Α.
              That was -- to the best of my
```

```
16
   recollection, that would have been Stanford
1
2
   University.
3
         Ο.
              Next?
4
              That brings us to the fall of 1987.
                                                     And I
         Α.
5
   apologize for going by seasons, but these things are
6
   tied to the academic year.
7
              Let me make it a little easier for you.
   Other than fellowships that were funded by Stanford
8
9
   University between 1986 and 1994, did you have any
10
   other employment?
11
              Yes.
        Α.
12
              What?
         Ο.
13
              Well, that's what we've been doing.
         Α.
14
              Well, yeah.
                           I know. But you keep giving
         Ο.
15
   me the fellowships that were funded by Stanford
16
   University.
17
              I'm sorry. You said that I should go
         Α.
18
   chronologically.
19
              Yeah. I'm trying to make it easier for
         Ο.
20
   both of us.
21
                   Other than the fellowships that were
22
   funded by Stanford University between 1986 and 1994,
23
   did you have any other employment?
24
         Α.
              Yes.
25
         Q.
              What?
```

17 1 Α. Would you like to go chronologically? 2 Q. Sure. 3 It helps with my recollection. Α. Okay. 4 Q. Okay. 5 I -- I mean, we are going back over a Α. 6 couple of decades, and I'm trying to be thorough. 7 I understand. Ο. 8 1987, I would have begun work at Stanford Α. 9 as a teaching assistant. Throughout the academic year of 1887-88, I would have worked as a teaching 10 11 assistant, to the best of my recollection. 12 Let me make it even easier. Other than 13 fellowships funded by Stanford University or 14 employment at Stanford University, did you have any 15 other employment between 1986 and 1994? 16 Α. Yes. 17 Ο. Where? 18 Α. I'm trying to answer your -- it will get 19 more exciting as we move closer to the future. 20 I'm hoping. I'm on the edge of my seat. Ο. 21 I believe we left off at the summer of Α. 22 And I -- you know, the years run together a 23 little bit. I'm trying to remember. This would 24 have been after my second year of grad school. 25 I think that's the summer that I

18 1 worked at the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica. 2 And what were you doing at the Rand 3 Corporation? 4 They hire doctoral students in the summer Α. 5 to do research. 6 And did you have any specific research 7 project? 8 Let's see, I can recall a couple of Α. 9 projects. 10 And what can you recall? Ο. 11 One project had to do with reviewing a Α. 12 report by a consulting firm on the defense 13 industrial base. 14 Another project had to do with 15 looking into the feasibility of collecting data on 16 fixed price contracts versus other forms of 17 contracting for the military, for the purpose of supporting future research. Those are two things I 18 remember specifically. 19 20 We're also given time to work on our 21 own research. 22 After the Rand Corporation, what's the Ο. 23 next non-Stanford funded, either employment or 24 fellowship, employment that you recall? 25 Α. I believe in the fall of 1988 -- but,

```
19
1
   again, this is subject to the best of my
2
   recollection.
                   Sitting here, I haven't thought about
3
   these things in many, many years.
4
                   I believe in the fall of '88, I began
5
   work at -- I was an instructor at San Francisco
6
   State University.
7
              And what were you teaching?
         Ο.
              In the fall of '88, I believe I taught
8
         Α.
9
   principles of microeconomics.
              What's the next --
10
         Ο.
11
              Possibly two sections of that.
         Α.
12
              What's the next job you recall?
         Q.
13
              In the spring -- that would bring us to
        Α.
14
   1989 -- I continued teaching at San Francisco State,
15
   teaching at least one section of macroeconomics.
16
   don't recall whether the other was micro or macro.
17
                   That brings us to the summer of '89.
18
   That may have been -- this is harder than what it
19
   might seem.
20
                   But I think that summer I had a
   fellowship from the law school at Stanford or via
21
22
   the law school at Stanford and -- to support my own
23
   research.
24
              And at the time what was the research that
25
   you were doing?
```

- A. Let's see, I believe I was looking at competitiveness in State legislative elections, broadly speaking.
- Q. And when you say, "Competitiveness in State legislative elections," what do you mean?
- A. Although now that I'm -- you know, these things are fuzzy over decades. It might have also have been looking at the federal budget process. It's hard to say, with certainty, what I was doing in the summer of 1989. I may have even been looking at both.
- Q. And when you say, "Competitiveness in State legislative elections," what do you mean?
- A. Competitiveness, I mean it as a broad term that might cover a number of different types of outcome studies.
 - O. What does that mean?
- A. Well, in the literature, competitiveness can be measured by the rate at which either incumbents win reelection or members of a particular party win reelection.
- It may be measured by the vote share of incumbents or the vote share of winning candidates.
- Q. And was that what you were looking at?

25

summer of '90.

21 1 Α. Well, as I said, I'm kind of hazy on the 2 summer of 1989, exactly what I was looking at at 3 that time. 4 And let's go beyond the summer of 1989. O. What is the next thing you remember that you did 5 6 that was not Stanford funded? 7 We're getting into the period where I 8 believe I was dating the woman who became my wife, 9 and so I'm getting hazier on the work part of what I 10 was doing. 11 Right. And you weren't paid for that? Ο. 12 Α. Not a monetary salary. 13 Let's see, we're into the fall of 14 1989. I believe I was still working as a teaching 15 assistant at Stanford then. That would have been 16 the '89-90 academic year. I may have been the head 17 teaching assistant at that time. That, I think, 18 brings us to the summer of '90? 19 I think so. Ο. 20 You know, I had a number of fellowships Α. 21 during that time. It's difficult to recall exactly. 22 So what I answered for '89 might have been for '90. 23 Understood. Q. 24 I don't recall other employment in the

22 1 Ο. Okay. Any other non-Stanford-related employment between '90 and '94? 2 3 Α. Yes. 4 Ο. Where? 5 Can we continue chronologically? Α. 6 Q. Absolutely. 7 I find it helpful. Α. 8 Q. Okay. 9 Such as it is. Continuing into the fall Α. of '90, then I'm pretty confident I was the head 10 11 teaching assistant then at Stanford for that academic year, '90 -- what are we talking about? 12 That would be the fall of '90-'91. 13 14 I may need to look at the inside of 15 I think it was in the summer of '91 I was my ring. 16 married, so I don't believe I had outside employment 17 other than with Stanford until we get to about 18 August 1991. 19 Then I had a postdoctoral fellowship 20 from Washington University in St. Louis, and I was a 21 visiting instructor in the political science 22 department at Washington University. 23 And other than your positions at Wash U 24 and continuing relationship with Stanford, did you 25 have any other positions or employment between then

```
23
1
   and 1994?
2
         Α.
              Yes.
3
         O.
              Where?
4
              Continuing chronologically, the Wash U
         Α.
5
   fellowship was during the academic year of '91-'92.
6
   We then moved to the Boston area where I was on the
7
   faculty at Tufts University, and I believe -- so
   that takes us into 1992-93 academic year.
8
                                                 That was
9
   full-time employment. That continued until my
10
   completion of my PhD, at which time then I began --
11
   now we're on to the CV here.
12
              Excellent. I was going to say, that
         0.
13
   wasn't that hard, but it was.
14
                   And you stayed at Tufts until 2000.
15
    Is that correct?
16
         Α.
              Yes.
17
              Why did you leave Tufts?
         Q.
18
              I had an employment offer from the
         Α.
19
   University of Chicago.
20
              Had you been offered tenure at Tufts?
         O.
21
              I was not offered tenure at Tufts.
         Α.
22
              Were you denied tenure at Tufts?
         Q.
23
              I was up for tenure and I was denied
         Α.
24
   tenure at Tufts. That is correct.
25
         Q.
              And then you went to University of Chicago
```

```
24
1
   to the Harris School, and you were there from
2
   2000-2004. Were you in a tenure track position at
   the Harris School?
3
4
              Yes, I was in a tenure track position at
         Α.
5
   the Harris School.
6
              Were you offered tenure in Chicago at the
7
   Harris School?
8
         Α.
              I was not offered tenure at the University
9
   of Chicago.
10
              Were you denied tenure at the University
         Q.
11
   of Chicago?
12
              I was put up for tenure and did not
13
   receive tenure at the University of Chicago.
14
              And you are tenured at the University of
         Ο.
15
   Missouri now?
16
              Yes, I am tenured at the University of
        Α.
17
   Missouri.
18
              Now, you mentioned that you have been
         Ο.
19
   deposed a few times in the past, and I think you
20
   said three. When were those three times?
21
              I believe I've put those in my report.
         Α.
22
   And that would probably be more reliable than my
23
   recollection, without glancing back at it, if you're
24
    looking for time periods.
25
         Q.
              Okay. I'm looking at page 3 of your
```

```
25
1
   report.
2
                     Would you tell me which Milyo
              Okay.
3
   report you're looking at?
                     We will -- now that we're, at least
4
         O.
              Sure.
5
   to this point, through with your CV, let's go to the
6
   Rebuttal Declaration, which is Milyo 2.
7
   think, if you look at the bottom of page 2,
   Paragraph 13, you mention producing expert reports
8
    in state and federal election law disputes, and that
9
10
   goes over into page 3.
11
                   Is that the paragraphs of the report
12
   that you're referring to?
13
              I believe your question was, when I have
         Α.
14
   been deposed?
15
         Q.
              Yes.
16
              Yes. This would help me to answer that
        Α.
17
   question.
18
              Okay. Does this information provide all
         Ο.
19
    instance -- include all instances that you were
20
   deposed?
21
              I believe so, yes.
         Α.
22
              Okay. Which of -- there are six cases
         Ο.
23
   that are described on page 3. In which were you
24
   deposed?
25
         Α.
              I believe it's quite clear from the text.
```

26 1 O. Well, why don't you just tell me. 2 Α. All right. In 2007, I produced an expert 3 report and was disposed [sic] in a dispute in federal district court, et cetera. That would be 4 Paragraph D. 5 6 Uh-huh. Q. 7 In 2008, Paragraph E, I produced an expert report and was deposed in a dispute in federal 8 9 court. 10 And in Paragraph F, I write, in 2011, 11 I produced a report and was deposed in a dispute in 12 federal court. 13 Ο. And other than the cases that are described on page 3 of the report, have you been 14 15 retained as an expert in any other kinds of cases? 16 Α. I'm sorry, would you repeat the question? 17 Sure. Other than the cases that are Ο. 18 described on page 3 of your report, have you been 19 retained as an expert in any other kinds of cases? 20 Α. This case. 21 Other than this case and the cases that Ο. 22 are described in page 3 of the report? 23 Not that I recall. Α. 24 Have you ever testified in court? Q. 25 Α. Not as an expert witness.

25

Q.

27 1 Ο. Have you testified in court in any other 2 capacity? 3 The only thing I can think of that comes Α. to mind was in a jury selection procedure. 4 5 Meaning you were in the venire and they 0. 6 were trying to decide whether you would be sitting 7 on the jury or --8 I don't know what you mean by venire. Α. 9 Okay. Why don't you tell me what you Ο. 10 recall about your testimony in a jury selection 11 procedure. We were asked if we had any conflicts with 12 Α. 13 serving on the jury. 14 Okay. So you were -- there was a decision 0. 15 as to whether or not to impanel you as a juror. Is 16 that correct? 17 I'm not sure exactly what you mean by Α. 18 impanel. 19 Okay. Well, we'll get back to that maybe. O. 20 Have you ever been qualified as an 21 expert in any proceeding? 22 That sounds like a technical term as Α. 23 you're using it, and I'm not quite sure exactly what 24 you mean.

Have you ever been disqualified -- or let

```
28
 1
   me ask. Have you ever been disqualified as an
2
    expert in any proceeding?
             Again, that sounds like a technical term,
3
        A.
4
    and I'm not exactly sure what you mean.
5
             And which term are you having trouble
        Q.
6
   with?
7
             Well, I'm not exactly sure -- lawyers use
8
   terms with particular meaning. That would be
9
    different than common parlance.
10
             Well, you can use whatever meaning you
        0.
11
    ascribe to whatever word you want. Tell me what
12
    word you're having trouble with.
             You put emphasis on the word "qualified,"
13
        A.
14
    so I'm not quite sure exactly what you mean by that.
15
        Q.
             Have your -- have you been accepted as an
16
    expert by the court in any proceeding?
17
             I don't know exactly what that means.
18
    When I have served as an expert witness, I've
19
   produced a report. I don't have legal training.
20
             Have you ever been in a proceeding where
        0.
21
    the court did not accept your opinions?
22
        A.
             What exactly do you mean by "accept"?
23
             Have you ever been in a proceeding where
        Q.
24
   the court found your opinions to be unreliable?
25
        A.
             Again, I think you're using technical
```

```
29
 1
   terms about a court finding. And I think I can help
   you out. Not being a lawyer, I don't know exactly
2
3
   how to answer technical --
              Well, you know what the word "court"
 4
         Ο.
 5
   means. Right? We have no problem with the word
 6
    "court."
 7
         Α.
              A court. Yes.
 8
         Q.
              Right? All right. Do you have a problem
   with the word "findings"?
 9
10
         Α.
              Potentially.
11
              Okay. Would the word "rulings" be better
         Ο.
12
    for you?
13
              Potentially.
         Α.
              Okay. Well, let's use the word "rulings."
14
         0.
15
                  Have you ever been in a proceeding
16
   where the court ruled that your opinions were
17
   unreliable?
18
             Again, not being a lawyer, it's difficult
        A.
19
   for me to answer. I was involved in a case where I
20
   believe the entire case was thrown out. So I'm not
21
   sure what that means for findings and rulings.
22
        Q.
             What case was that?
23
             I believe that was the 2011 Washington
        A.
24
   State case.
25
        Q.
             Did you read the court's opinion in that
```

```
30
 1
   case?
2
             I recall glancing at a document.
        A.
3
             You recall glancing at a document. When
        0.
4
   you glanced at it, did you read anything about
5
   yourself?
6
        A.
             That would have been the purpose for my
7
   glancing.
8
        Q.
             So the answer is yes?
9
        A.
             I don't recall the specifics.
10
             You don't recall anything about it?
        O.
11
             I don't believe I said that.
        A.
12
             Well, I'm -- then tell me what you recall.
        0.
13
   Come on. You know, we're going to be here for a
14
   long, long time. And quite frankly, we're going to
15
   be here for longer than seven hours if this keeps
16
   up, because I'll -- I have no problem with calling
17
   the Court.
18
                  So I asked you a question. And
19
   please tell me what you recall about the thing you
20
   glanced at.
21
        A.
             I will continue to try to answer you as
22
   honestly and completely as I can.
23
             Well, go ahead, answer my question,
        Q.
24
   please.
25
        A.
             It's difficult to go back in time to give
```

```
31
 1
    specific and detailed answers about a document that
2
    I've glanced at.
3
                  Is this a document that you have that
   you'd like to show me to refresh my memory?
4
5
        Q. Let me go back and repeat what happened
6
   here. I asked you if you read the opinion. You
7
    said you glanced at it. I asked you if you remember
8
    something. You said you didn't remember specifics.
9
   I said, so you don't remember anything; you said, I
10
   don't -- that's not what I said. So then I asked
11
   you to tell me what you remember. And that's my
12
    question.
13
             I can tell you what I remember at this
        A.
14
    time, sitting here, off the top of my head, and to
15
   the best of my recollection.
16
                  One thing that I remember was that
17
   the judge didn't like a phrase that I coined and
18
    suggested that it was not a peer-reviewed phrase. I
19
    recall being puzzled at that.
20
             Do you remember anything else?
        0.
21
             I recall that the judge seemed to object
        A.
22
   to the fact that I had been paid for my testimony.
23
             Do you recall anything else?
        Q.
24
             What I recall is a broad impression.
        A.
25
        Q.
             And what's the broad impression that you
```

```
32
1
   recall?
              What I have said.
2
        A.
3
              When were you retained by the State in
         O.
   this case?
4
5
              I don't believe I was retained by the
         Α.
6
   State.
7
         Ο.
              Okay.
8
              Oh, I'm sorry. Which case are you
         Α.
9
   referring to?
10
              I'm sorry. We're turning our attention to
         O.
11
   this case, the case that you're here to testify
12
   about.
13
                   And let me withdraw that question and
14
   ask you: when were you first contacted by anyone
15
   from the State of Texas in connection with this
16
   case?
17
              I can't recall an exact date.
         Α.
18
              Can you recall a general date?
         Ο.
19
              It probably would have been, to the best
         Α.
20
   of my recollection sitting here, if I had to pick a
21
   date, maybe September 2013.
22
              Who contacted you?
         Q.
23
              I don't recall exactly.
         Α.
24
              Do you recall the substance of the
         Ο.
25
   conversation that you had with the person?
```

33 1 MR. KEISTER: And let me advise the 2 witness, don't go into specific details of 3 conversations with the attorneys. But you can tell 4 the general discussion. 5 I believe the general discussion would 6 have been about my willingness and availability to 7 be an expert in this case. 8 (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Did you have an Q. 9 understanding, as a result of that conversation, as 10 to what were the areas that the State was interested 11 in your being an expert on? 12 Beyond that it would have something to do with voter identification? 13 14 I don't know. You tell me. Ο. 15 I believe that I didn't have a specific Α. 16 idea. 17 In that conversation did you agree to be Q. 18 retained as an exert by the State in this case? 19 I don't think it would have been in the Α. 20 first conversation. 21 When would it have been? Ο. 22 Possibly in a second or third Α. 23 conversation. 24 When was the next time you had a Ο. conversation with someone from the State? 25

```
34
1
         Α.
              You're asking about a specific chronology,
2
   and I just have to preface everything by saying,
3
   it's not something I've devoted time to thinking
4
   about, so I'm going off the top of my head.
5
                   It probably was in that same month.
6
              And in that second -- what was the nature
         Q.
7
   of that second conversation?
8
              I really don't recall specifics.
         Α.
9
              Do you recall with whom you were speaking?
         O.
10
              Not exactly, no.
         Α.
11
              Do you recall -- maybe I can refresh your
         Q.
   recollection. Was it John Scott?
12
13
              It may have been, but I don't recall.
         Α.
14
              Was it David Whitley?
         Ο.
15
              I still don't recall.
         Α.
16
              Was it Reed Clay?
         0.
17
              No, I still don't recall.
         Α.
18
              Was it Ronny Keister?
         Ο.
19
              I don't recall.
         Α.
20
              By the way -- I'll get back to this -- did
         Q.
21
   you prepare for this deposition?
22
         Α.
              Yes, I did.
23
              How did you prepare for this deposition?
         Q.
24
              I tried to get a good night's sleep and
         Α.
25
   drink plenty of water.
```

```
35
1
         O.
              Anything else?
2
         Α.
              Yes.
3
              What else?
         O.
4
              I reviewed my report and I reviewed other
         Α.
5
   reports.
6
              Anything else?
         Q.
7
              There were a couple of journal articles I
         Α.
   looked at.
8
9
              Anything else?
         Ο.
10
              I think I reexamined the dataset provided
         Α.
11
   by Barreto and Sanchez.
12
              Anything else?
         O.
13
              I had some questions for the legal team.
         Α.
14
              Anything else?
         Ο.
15
              Not that I recall at this time.
         Α.
16
              When you say you reviewed your report,
         Ο.
   which version of your report did you review?
17
18
              Well, since we're not sure what we're
         Α.
19
    looking at with Milyo 1, 2, and 3, it's hard for me
20
   to translate it to that. It would have been, I
21
   believe, my latest version of the report.
22
              And just so the record is clear, when you
         0.
23
   say we're not sure what we're looking at in terms of
24
   Milyo 1, 2, and 3, take a look again at Milyo 1, 2,
25
   and 3 and tell me which is the latest version of
```

```
36
1
   your report.
2
              Well, you have represented to me that
3
   Milyo 2 is the latest or 3? Now I can't recall.
                                                       Do
4
   you recall?
5
             What I represented to you was that Milyo 2
        Ο.
   was your latest report and that Milyo 3 was a
6
7
   redline version of your latest report that
8
   Mr. Whitley had sent to me. You pointed out that
9
   Milyo 3 had a date that was earlier than Milyo 2,
   and I said, okay, let's go with Milyo 2.
10
11
                   So would you please identify which is
12
   your latest report?
13
              From the appearance and from the date, if
        Α.
14
   I were forced to guess, I would go with Milyo 2.
15
        Q.
              All right. Is that the report you
   reviewed yesterday in preparation for --
16
17
              It is not literally the same copy, but it
18
   was my intention to be reviewing the
19
   latest supplemental --
20
                                 Counsel, let me --
                   MR. KEISTER:
21
                   MR. ROSENBERG: Yeah, I mean, I think
   we have to take a break, Mr. Keister.
22
23
                   MR. KEISTER: Let's take a break.
24
                   (Recess.)
25
        Q.
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Professor Milyo,
```

Q.

37 1 before we broke you had testified that you had 2 reviewed reports yesterday in preparation for your 3 deposition. Is that correct? 4 Α. I don't believe I said yesterday. 5 When did you review the reports? Q. 6 Α. Well, there are a large number of reports 7 and other things, so it would be difficult to give 8 an exact chronological ordering. 9 Ο. I'm not asking for an exact chronological ordering. When did you review the reports in 10 11 preparation for this deposition? Just over the last few days, over the last few weeks? 12 13 This morning I took a glance at my own Α. 14 supplemental report. I may have looked at some 15 other reports also, as well, in the morning. 16 When you say, you may have, since it was 0. 17 just this morning, did you look at any reports this 18 morning, other than your own? 19 Well, I did some last night and some in Α. 20 the morning. 21 Okay. What reports did you look at last Q. 22 night? 23 I tried to take a look at some of the Α. 24 supplemental reports from the other experts.

Which experts?

38 1 Α. The experts that did supplemental reports. Their names, if you remember. 2 O. 3 Let's see, there was -- Barreto and Α. 4 Sanchez did a supplemental report, and Ansolabehere 5 did a -- I'm not sure if it's titled Supplemental 6 Report, but a second report. Bazelon did another 7 Burden did a supplemental report. There's 8 a couple others in there, too. 9 O. Webster? 10 I believe he did -- my recollection is 11 there's a supplemental report. I don't recall 12 looking at that one last night or this morning. 13 And then the fellow I always mix up 14 his name, whether it's Chandler Davidson or Davidson Chandler. 15 16 Chandler Davidson. Ο. 17 I'm not -- and then there's a Chapman. 18 And I'm not -- those -- I don't even recall if all 19 of them did supplemental reports. There are a lot 20 of experts and, you know, there were a number of 21 reports that I have glanced at in the last couple of 22 days. 23 Had you seen those reports prior to the Q. 24 last couple of days? 25 Α. I'm trying to remember when I would have

```
39
1
   received those reports. I assume it would have been
2
   a few days earlier, certainly.
3
              And did you review them when you first
         Ο.
4
   received them?
5
              I certainly took a look at the
         Α.
   supplemental reports when I first received them,
6
7
   yes.
8
              When you say, "took a look," what does
         Q.
   that mean?
9
10
              Well, I'm trying to use a broad term that
         Α.
11
   would cover both glancing to see, you know, what the
12
   general nature of the report was versus doing some
13
   more detailed reading.
14
              Have you ever read them in detail?
         Ο.
15
              Have I ever read --
         Α.
16
              Read the supplemental reports in detail?
         0.
17
              All of the supplemental reports?
         Α.
18
         Ο.
              Yes.
19
        Α.
              Or any of the supplemental reports?
20
              Well, we'll start with any.
         Ο.
              Well, I've had limited time to look at
21
         Α.
22
   them, so -- and I'm not quite sure what you mean by
23
   detailed.
24
              Well, you used the word detail. I didn't.
25
   I just used your word. So what did you mean by
```

40 1 detailed? 2 Α. Well, let's put it this way. Some I 3 looked at in more detail than others. 4 Which did you look at in detail or in more O. 5 detail, to use your words? 6 Α. Probably the ones that had more relevant 7 statements related to my report. 8 Which? Q. 9 Α. In terms of quantity? 10 In terms of which report. Ο. No. 11 Well, as I said, I've looked at the Burden Α. 12 report and the Barreto/Sanchez has something to say. Ansolabehere has something to say. A couple of the 13 14 others may as well. It's not -- I haven't had as 15 much time to read or work with these. 16 Dr. Milyo, you said you looked at certain 0. 17 reports in more detail than others. And my question 18 is, which reports did you look at in more detail 19 than the others? 20 The ones that I'm having an easier time Α. 21 recalling. 22 Q. Ansolabehere? 23 Ansolabehere, I've looked at, although Α. 24 that's a particularly large report, so there are 25 portions of it that I looked at in detail.

41 1 And the Bazelon report -- again, 2 these things cover more than just what was relevant 3 to my -- my report. 4 Barreto and Sanchez, Burden. There's 5 so many experts, the names don't come easily to me. 6 If I had them in front of me, it would be easier. 7 We'll get to that in a few minutes. Ο. 8 You also said you reexamined data 9 from Barreto and Sanchez. What data are you talking 10 about? 11 I received a file that -- the exact title Α. 12 skips my mind. I believe it's what they provided. It's something called like Final Clean Data. 13 I did 14 transmit that in the documents-relied-upon file. 15 And you also said you had questions for Q. the legal team. Without getting into the details of 16 17 what those questions were, what did you mean by 18 questions for the legal team? What -- were they 19 factual information that you needed? 20 MR. KEISTER: And let me caution you 21 to just give a general description. Don't give any 22 details. 23 The general description would be something Α. 24 like, given there are so many plaintiffs and 25 lawyers, what does that mean for the process of

42 1 questioning? Is it done serially, et cetera? Ιt 2 was sort of procedural. 3 (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Did you meet with Ο. 4 anyone from the legal team in preparation for the 5 deposition? 6 Well, I don't -- you're using the word 7 "preparation." I had a brief phone call last night. 8 Other than that brief phone call -- by the Q. 9 way, with whom was that brief phone call? I believe John Scott was on it for a 10 Α. 11 little while. And I apologize, I don't remember 12 your last name. 13 MR. KEISTER: Keister. 14 Keister, I believe, was on it. And I Α. 15 think it was Whitley. I'm not sure if anybody else. 16 (BY MR. ROSENBERG) How long was that 0. 17 conversation? 18 I wasn't watching the clock, so maybe on Α. 19 the order of 20 minutes. 20 Other than that conversation, did you have Ο. 21 any other conversations or meetings with anyone from 22 the Texas Attorney General's Office in preparation 23 for the deposition? 24 I've certainly never met with any of them

in person. As sort of specific preparation for the

```
43
   deposition, I don't recall. Any conversations I had
1
2
   were more about logistics.
3
             All right. Let's get back to when you
        0.
4
   were actually retained as an expert in this case.
5
   And I think you said it was sometime around
6
   September of 2013. Is that correct?
7
             To the best of my recollection. You were
8
   asking for a particular date, and I'm fairly
   confident it would have -- would have been by then.
9
10
             And when you were retained as an expert,
        Ο.
11
   what did you understand that your role would be in
12
   this case?
13
             My understanding is, the best I can recall
        Α.
14
   at that time, was that the plaintiffs would be
15
   producing some reports and there would need to be a
16
   response report.
17
              What areas of expertise were you -- was it
18
   your understanding that you would be providing a
19
   response report in?
20
              Broadly regarding the effects of voter
        Α.
21
   identification laws.
22
             And when you say, "the effects of voter
        Ο.
23
   identification laws," what do you mean?
24
              Broadly, things that might be attributed
        Α.
   to voter identification laws.
25
```

23

24

25

some examples.

44 1 Ο. When you say, "things that may be attributed to voter identification laws," what do 2 3 you mean? 4 I want to be responsive to your question. Α. 5 Would it be satisfactory to give some examples? 6 Sure, for starters. Q. 7 An example might be, there's a literature that looks at the effects of voter ID laws on voter 8 9 turnout. 10 Any other examples? Ο. 11 There is a smaller literature that looks Α. 12 at the effects of voter ID laws, broadly speaking on voter confidence. 13 14 Any other examples? Ο. 15 There are other academic studies that Α. would be broadly related to costs and benefits of 16 17 voting -- or voting laws and regulations. 18 Any other examples? Ο. 19 I could probably go into more detail and Α. 20 list a large number of examples. I don't think 21 that's what you're asking for. So I've given you

Q. Just so it's clear, I'm asking for what was in your mind as to your understanding of the nature of the expertise that you would be lending to

review and comment on.

1

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

- this case at the time that you were retained.
- A. Oh, okay. That as a political economist,
 with some expertise in policy evaluation, that there
 would be expert reports produced that I would then
 - Q. And just so it's clear, you said, "as a political economist with some expertise in policy evaluation." Is that what you said?
 - A. I believe that is what I said.
 - Q. And what do you mean by "policy evaluation"?
 - A. Broadly speaking, looking at the effects of public policies on different kinds of outcomes.
 - Q. What is the nature of your experience in the effects of public policies on different kinds of outcomes?
 - A. I am a professor who has done research broadly related to that issue, over a number of years, have taught courses broadly related to that issue a number of years. I've also participated in some court proceedings that we have mentioned.
 - Q. Well, which public policies whose effects you have studied, are you referring to?
 - A. Well, this would be easier to answer if I could reference my CV. You're talking about a body

```
46
1
   of work over decades again.
2
                   MR. KEISTER: And let me just
3
   instruct the witness. Anytime you need to look at
4
   your report or your CV, please do.
5
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) I agree with
        Q.
6
   Mr. Keister.
7
              So your question was about public policies
        Α.
   that I've examined?
8
9
             Right.
        Ο.
              In answering that kind of guestion, I see
10
        Α.
11
   studies that look at campaign finance regulations,
12
   term limits, professionalism in legislatures, voter
   ID laws, early voting, same-day registration,
13
14
   alcohol regulations, health insurance. What other
15
   things would be included in here?
16
                   Regulations on lobbying, regulations
17
   on independent expenditures, ballot measures. Work
   that otherwise informs or is related to economic
18
19
   regulations, health policy, political reforms.
20
                   There's some work which is probably
21
   better characterized as methodological contributions
22
   that might be useful in policy evaluation. Reforms
23
   to the budget process, effects of ethics laws,
24
   sentencing reforms, work related to the recruitment
25
   and training of poll workers, work relating to
```

47 1 regulations on ownership of broadcast television. 2 These are some other examples from 3 the research studies listed on my CV in the course 4 of teaching or doing other kinds of work in 5 progress, referee reports, and the like. There are 6 other areas that I've had occasion to speak to. 7 Which of the articles or publications that 8 are in your CV relate to early voting? 9 Α. I believe the article -- it's numbered 26, under journal articles. 10 11 "Estimating the Impact of State Policies 12 and Institutions with Mixed-Level Data"? 13 I believe there is a variable. I'm going Α. 14 off of the top of my head on the recollection of 15 If I have access to look at that article, I 16 could be more sure. 17 I'm not sure if 23 included a control 18 variable for early voting or not. There may have been other studies where a variable was included. 19 20 I'm looking through here. 21 Under contributions to edited 22 volumes, I'm not quite -- I can't recall, off the 23 top of my head, exactly what was included in terms 24 of other variables in number 5 and number 3. But 25 those would be -- if I were trying to refresh my

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

48

- memory, I would take a look at those.
- Q. Is it fair to say that in looking at numbers 3, number 5, number 23, and number 26, that the primary focus of those articles was not early voting but, rather, some other topic and early voting may have been a variable?
 - A. I wasn't finished answering the first question. Do you want me to finish answering?
 - Q. Well, I want you to answer that first and then I'll let you continue.
 - A. Which is that?
 - Q. The question I just asked, which is, is it fair to say that numbers 3, number 5, number 23, and number 26, the prime focus of the study is not on early voting but, rather, early voting may have been a variable that you considered in this study?
 - A. It was not a focus of those studies.
 - Q. Now you can -- are there any other studies dealing with early voting?
 - A. There's -- you say, "any studies." It captures more than just what's on a CV. So I'm referring to the CV here.

The review of poll worker best practices with Barry Burden would have spoken to early voting as well.

49 1 Ο. Any of the -- you mentioned that there 2 were perhaps an article or more or study dealing 3 with voter ID. Which -- to which were you 4 referring? 5 In terms of on the CV -- I don't think 26 Α. 6 had that in there. 7 From the CV, I would point to, in the 8 technical and policy reports, number 8. 9 Ο. Which is, "The Effects of Photo Identification on Voter Turnout in Indiana"? 10 11 Yes, that certainly had to do with voter Α. 12 ID. 13 Any others? Q. 14 Α. Not on the CV. 15 When you say, "not on the CV," is there Q. something that you're thinking of that is not on the 16 17 CV? 18 Well, your question was broad. I don't Α. 19 remember the exact words of it. Do you? 20 Because it was -- actually dealt Ο. Yeah. 21 with your CV. But I'm asking you whether, outside 22 of your CV, have you -- other than in litigation, 23 studied photo -- voter ID? 24 Studied is a broad term. I've talked Α. 25 about it in classes. I have made a couple of

2

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

- conference presentations.
 - Q. Which conference presentations?
- I don't list conference presentations on 3 Α. 4 my CV, so that's going to be harder to remember 5 exactly. But in the spirit of your question, let's 6 see, a few years -- I can't remember whether it was the Midwest Political Science Association or the 7 American Political Science Association, so one or 8 9 the other or both, I've made two presentations that I can recall that had to do with voter ID. 10
 - There may have been a presentation at the Public Choice Society conference. I don't recall exactly.
 - Q. What is a Public Choice Society?
 - A. The Public Choice Society is an academic professional organization.
 - Q. And what were the topics, if you recall, of any of these presentations? I understand you're saying they dealt with voter ID, but what aspect of voter ID?
 - A. One had to do with public approval of various voting reforms, early voting, vote by mail, same-day registration, and voter ID.
 - Q. Do you remember any others?
- A. And one had to do with effects of voter ID

```
51
1
   on voter turnout. And I think, again, in the spirit
2
   of being responsive to your question, I've also
3
   given some seminar presentations.
4
              And where were the seminar presentations
         Ο.
5
   given?
6
                          I gave a seminar presentation
         Α.
              Let's see.
7
   at Tulane University, and at least one
8
   work-in-progress presentation in the Department of
   Economics at Missouri. And at least one
9
10
   presentation in the Truman School of Public Affairs
11
   at Missouri.
              And each of these was on voter ID
12
         Ο.
13
   specifically?
14
         Α.
              Yes.
15
              And on what topics of -- what area of
         Q.
16
   voter ID?
17
              The seminars at Missouri focused on
         Α.
18
   effects on voter turnout. The seminar at Tulane, I
19
   believe, also focused on that.
20
                   And I believe there was also a
21
   panel -- I'm not quite sure how to describe it, but
22
   a panel on -- or certainly relating to voter ID, at
23
   the Cato Institute, where I was on the panel, part
24
   of a collection of speakers.
25
         Q.
              What is a Cato Institute?
```

Q.

52 The Cato Institute is a think tank in -- I 1 Α. 2 believe they're located in Washington, DC, proper. 3 You are associated -- or had been Ο. 4 associated with them in the past. Is that correct? 5 I have a title there. I believe it's Α. 6 fellow or senior fellow. 7 Has the Cato Institute itself taken a 8 position on voter ID; do you know? 9 Α. I don't know if they have. I'm not sure think tanks take lobbying positions, if that's what 10 11 you mean. 12 Are you paid by the Cato Institute? Q. 13 I'm not paid by the Cato Institute at this Α. 14 time. 15 Have you ever been paid by the Cato Q. 16 Institute? 17 There was a time when I received payment Α. 18 from the Cato Institute. 19 And how much do you receive? Ο. 20 Let's see, I think we're going back to Α. 21 2006. And round numbers, it was in the nature of a 22 summer -- summer support, maybe \$6,000, \$8,000, 23 some -- it could have been more in that 24 neighborhood.

And getting back to the conferences that

```
53
1
   you talked about, were the presentations that you
2
   gave based upon your own studies, as opposed to a
3
   literature review? And I'll focus first on -- I'll
4
   focus first on the -- the effects of voter ID on
5
   voter turnout.
6
              I'm sorry, I'm kind of distracted by the
7
   movement here. I will try to pay attention if you
   would...
8
9
                   MR. ROSENBERG: Can you read the
10
   question back, please.
11
                   THE REPORTER: Question: "And getting
12
   back to conferences that you talked about, were the
13
   presentations that you gave based upon your own
14
   studies, as opposed to a literature review?"
15
              In general, any presentation would include
        Α.
   both some literature review as a way to sort of
16
17
   place a context for the analysis, and some -- some
18
   original analysis.
19
        Ο.
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) When you say, "some
20
   original analysis, " can you describe the form that
21
   the original analysis took?
22
              Well, let's see --
        Α.
23
        Q.
              On voter ID.
24
              Is there a particular occasion that you're
25
   asking about?
```

```
54
1
         O.
              Well, the one you were just talking about.
2
        Α.
              At the Cato Institute?
3
              Yeah.
         O.
4
              Oh, that would have been a discussion
        Α.
5
   on -- I'm not sure if it was specifically on a book
6
   by John Fund, and I'm not sure if he had a coauthor.
7
   But it would -- he was one of the main speakers and
   it was more offering commentary on that, to the best
8
9
   of my recollection.
10
              Now, your presentation to the Midwest
         O.
11
   Political Science Association, that was in 2013?
              I don't believe I said that.
12
         Α.
13
              No. But I'm asking.
         0.
14
              I don't recall specifically whether it was
         Α.
15
   Midwest or whether it was 2013. I had trouble
16
   recalling.
17
                   To be honest, there's these two big
18
   political science conferences, and I -- hard to keep
19
   them straight. It's all the same crowd.
20
              Is 2013 a ballpark?
         Ο.
21
              You know, I don't recall.
         Α.
22
              Was the title of your presentation, "The
         Q.
23
   Voter ID Mess"?
24
              That sounds familiar.
         Α.
25
              And can you -- having refreshed your
         Q.
```

```
55
1
   recollection with that title, can you tell me what
2
   the -- whether or not that study was based upon your
3
   own research?
              It was a presentation of some work in
4
         Α.
5
   progress --
6
              And when you say -- I'm sorry.
7
              -- as well as some review of the
   literature.
8
9
              And when you say, "work in progress,"
         Ο.
10
   what do you mean?
11
              I mean work that at that time was not in a
12
   state to be distributed publicly.
13
              Has it reached a state where it's in a
         Ο.
14
   position to be distributed publicly?
15
              That's an area of inquiry that I have
         Α.
    looked at over time, but I have not disseminated a
16
17
   written report.
18
              Did you disseminate any written materials
19
   at that presentation?
20
              I don't recall. It's possible I would
         Α.
21
   have had copies of an overhead presentation.
22
   possible that I had something in the way of a short
23
   write-up that would have been given to a discussant,
24
   but I don't recall specifically.
25
        Q.
              Do you recall which state -- state or
```

56 1 states you presented on? 2 I believe in that presentation I discussed 3 aggregate turnout, looking at all 50 states, and 4 also -- and, again, I'm going off the best of my 5 recollection here. 6 And I believe also looking at the 7 current population survey, looking at all 50 states. 8 Did you -- do you recall whether you Q. 9 studied voter ID laws -- whether you presented on 10 voter ID laws generally or specifically on photo ID 11 laws? Again, I'm going off of a recollection of 12 a talk from some time ago. And my recollection is 13 14 that there would be some characterization of both ID 15 laws, in general, as well as specifically photo ID 16 laws. 17 Did you have a thesis for your Ο. 18 presentation? 19 Again, trying to be responsive to the Α. 20 spirit of your question, it focused on the effects of voter ID laws on voter turnout. 21 22 Well, when you used the title, "The Voter Ο. 23 ID Mess, what did you mean by that? 24 Professional conference presentations, you

submit a title many months in advance of the actual

```
57
 1
   presentation. So that was something I thought
 2
    sounded catchy and marketable and would get my
 3
   presentation accepted.
 4
                   I don't recall if I used the same
 5
    title in the presentation or not. Again, you're
 6
    asking about a work-in-progress presentation from
 7
    some time ago, and I'm going off of the best of my
   recollection at this moment.
 8
 9
                   I may have kept that in the title,
10
    and then a colon. I'm not quite sure.
11
              After the colon, did it say something like
         Ο.
12
    estimating the effects of state voter ID and voter
13
    turnout and self-reported voting irregularities?
14
   Does that sound familiar?
15
              That sounds like what the original
         Α.
    conference proposal would have been. My
16
17
    recollection is, by the time the rubber hit the road
18
    and it was time to talk about results, I don't
19
   know -- I -- definitely the focus was on voter
20
    turnout.
             Now, are you -- have you submitted that
21
         0.
22
   writing anyplace for publication in a journal?
23
              As I mentioned, it wasn't a written report
        A.
24
   and it hasn't been disseminated.
25
        Q.
             You mentioned earlier the technical
```

```
58
1
   report, "The Effects of Photographic Identification"
2
   on Voter Turnout in Indiana." Was that submitted
3
   for publication to a peer-review journal?
4
             No, it has not been.
        A.
5
             Have you ever published in a peer-review
        Q.
6
   journal, a study on voter ID?
7
             Not that I would characterize as the main
        A.
8
   focus was on voter ID, to the best of my
9
   recollection.
10
             Turning your attention to the first page
        Ο.
11
   of document 2 in front of you.
12
        Α.
             Milyo 2.
13
             Milyo 2. Actually, let's do it this way.
        0.
14
   Let's look at Milyo 1, the first page. And
15
   Paragraph 5 states, "The State of Texas is
16
   compensating me for any subsequent testimony in this
17
   case at the rate of $400 per hour. To date, I've
18
   been paid $15,000 for my work in this case." Do you
19
   see that?
20
              I do.
        Α.
21
             Okay. Can you tell me what the rate of
        0.
22
   your compensation has been throughout this case?
23
   Has it always been $400 or has it changed at all?
24
              The $400 an hour would be for the
        Α.
25
   subsequent testimony. And I was paid on a flat fee
```

```
59
1
   for producing expert reports.
2
                   The $15,000 was accurate at the time
3
   of this writing.
4
              So your agreement with the State was that
         O.
5
   you would produce an expert report for $15,000?
6
              No, I did not say that.
         Α.
7
              Well, that's what I'm asking. That was a
         Ο.
8
   question.
9
         Α.
              The -- well, there was an original
10
   agreement that had a cap for payment and some
11
   open-ended -- it was a long contract, and I have to
12
   be honest, that -- I didn't go into the details of
13
   it too much.
                  I went with my understanding of what
14
   was to be produced.
15
                   The original cap, I believe, was
   $25,000. Since that time, the cap has been raised
16
17
   over time. And, again, I want to be responsive to
18
   the spirit of your question here.
19
                   15,000 is what I have actually been
20
          I have billed for more than that.
   paid.
21
              How much have you billed for?
         Ο.
              There's an outstanding invoice for 50,000.
22
         Α.
23
         Q.
              On top of the 15?
24
              On top of the 15.
         Α.
25
              And are you billing that on the basis of
         Q.
```

60 1 an hourly rate? 2 Α. No. That was based on a flat rate. 3 And do you recall how much time you Ο. 4 spent -- do you keep track of your time? 5 Since I'm being paid on a flat rate, I'm Α. 6 not keeping detailed time. I believe I had to 7 submit a declaration where I gave an estimate of the time I have spent. 9 And the \$400 an hour, does that come into Ο. 10 play after this first \$65,000 flat work? 11 It's not entirely clear to me. Α. I -- my 12 understanding is that it does. I'm not sure there's a complete meeting of the minds there. 13 14 Do you recall -- can you estimate how many 0. 15 hours you have devoted to this case? 16 In total? Α. 17 In total. Q. 18 Not with great accuracy. I submitted a Α. 19 declaration which was a best estimate at that time. 20 And I can't even recall exactly when that was -- was 21 turned in. 22 So I can talk about the marginal 23 hours since then. 24 Well, do you recall approximately how many Ο. 25 hours you listed in the declaration that you

in this case at trial?

61 submitted? 1 2 Α. You know, I don't recall it exactly, 3 because I wasn't keeping a formal record. It was 4 based on my best estimate and understanding of the 5 hours. 6 Do you recall approximately? Q. 7 With a big approximation, 100. Α. 100 hours? 8 Q. 9 Does that work out about right? Something Α. like that, more than that. 10 11 And do you recall approximately what scope Ο. 12 of work was included in that? And by that I mean, 13 through the first report, through the second report, 14 something else? 15 I'm trying to recall when that was Α. 16 submitted. This is where we get into the gray area 17 where it wasn't clear to me if there was a meeting 18 of the minds on everything. 19 I think that was submitted along with 20 the first report, over a short -- you know, maybe 21 not exactly contemporaneous. But that's my 22 recollection of doing that declaration. 23 Now, the reports, documents 1 and 2, do 24 they contain all of the opinions you intend to give

- A. Well, you're asking about the future. For today, the report contains my opinions. But as has happened, as new information comes up -- again, I'm not an expert on the legal process. If I'm asked to do something more -- I don't know if I'll have occasion to do new analysis to look at supplemental reports in more detail, et cetera. So I would not want to confine myself in the future to the report. But for now, it contains my opinions.
- Q. And sitting here today, have you undertaken any analyses that do not appear in either Milyo document 1 or Milyo document 2?
- A. Well, as I've mentioned, I've glanced at or looked at some of the supplemental reports. One can't help but have some thoughts. But in terms of any formal analyses or opinions, I can't say that I have anything that I'd be comfortable discussing at this time beyond the report.
- Q. In the past you've described your area of academic expertise -- and tell me if this is correct -- as American political economy, including the empirical analysis of the effects of political regulations and institutions. Is that accurate?
 - A. I don't recall that specifically.
 - Q. Does that sound accurate to you? Does

```
63
 1
    that accurately describe your area of expertise as
    you would put it forward?
 2
 3
              Depending on the context, I could envision
         Α.
 4
    describing that in that way.
 5
              Well, earlier today, I think you talked
        0.
6
    about your scope of expertise in this case as a
7
   political economist with expertise in policy
8
    evaluation. Is that correct?
9
              That sounds familiar to what we said.
         A.
10
              Is that any -- do you consider that
         0.
11
    different than American political economy, including
12
    the empirical analysis of the effects of political
   regulations and institutions?
13
14
         A.
              Those sound fairly synonymous to me.
15
              Now, do you -- is the expertise that
        0.
16
    you're putting forward in this case different than
17
    either of those two descriptions?
18
        Α.
              Broadly construed, no.
19
              You consider yourself an expert in
         Ο.
20
    statistics?
21
              I have some expertise in statistics.
         Α.
22
              Do you consider yourself an expert in
         Ο.
23
    statistics?
24
              It would depend on the context, what
         Α.
25
    exactly you mean.
```

64 1 O. Are you a statistician? 2 Α. I do statistical work. 3 Do you consider yourself a statistician? Q. 4 I don't know that there's a union of Α. 5 statisticians. So, you know, it's a strange sort of 6 question. 7 I do statistical evaluation. I have 8 done some methodological statistical analysis. 9 Have you published a peer-reviewed article Q. on statistics? 10 11 Α. In a journal with statistics in its title 12 or generally considered in the field of statistics? 13 I'm asking whether you've ever published a 0. 14 peer-reviewed article on statistics in any journal. 15 Using statistical tools, absolutely. Α. 16 Are you a member of any statistician 0. 17 professional associations? 18 Α. No. Have you ever taught a statistics course? 19 Ο. 20 I've certainly guest lectured in a course Α. 21 on applied statistical methods through the economics 22 department. 23 But if your question is about a 24 course in a statistics department, no. 25 Q. Have you authored any scholarly works on

65 quantitative methodology in social science? 1 2 Α. Yes. 3 Which ones? Ο. 4 Referring to my CV. Well, in some sense, Α. 5 almost any empirical study is going to have to do 6 with statistical methodology and the way of 7 analyzing a particular area. So almost anything 8 empirical could be classified in that way. 9 Do you consider yourself an expert on 10 transportation? 11 I would not consider myself an expert on 12 transportation. Do you consider yourself an expert on 13 Q. 14 travel behavior? 15 I would not consider myself an expert on **A**. 16 travel behavior. 17 Do you consider yourself an expert on 18 travel burdens? 19 Well, now you're getting into an area of Α. 20 describing potential costs and benefits, which is 21 within the bailiwick of economics. 22 But specifically on travel burdens. Ο. 23 To the extent they have to do with Α. 24 evaluating costs and benefits, the logic of 25 arguments.

```
66
 1
         0.
              You consider yourself an expert on travel
 2
    burdens, is that what you're saying?
 3
              I didn't say that.
         Α.
 4
              That's what I'm asking.
         O.
 5
              If the discussion of travel burdens
         Α.
 6
    relates to things that I have expertise in, then I
 7
    would have expertise in that.
 8
        Q.
             Have you ever published a peer-reviewed
9
    article on travel burdens?
10
             I don't believe so.
        A.
11
              Do you consider yourself an expert on
         O.
12
    surveys?
13
             I have analyzed surveys, so I have some
        A.
14
    expertise.
15
              Have you ever conducted a survey?
        Q.
16
             I have been a participant in the
         Α.
17
    Cooperative Congressional Election survey for --
18
    counting this year -- seven years. That would be as
19
    a team member.
20
              I'm sorry, just slow down for a second.
        0.
   Can you again tell me, you're a participant in what
21
22
    survey?
23
              It's the CCES. And, again, sometimes I
        A.
24
   may conflate whether it's Cooperative Congressional
25
    or Congressional cooperative. But it's CCES.
```

```
67
 1
                  Stephen Ansolabehere, I believe, is
    still the principal investigator for that survey.
2
3
             And what is your role in the CCES?
        0.
4
             As a team member, we submit questions to
        A.
5
   be included in subsamples of team content.
6
             Who else is a member of the team?
        Q.
             For this year's survey, I am including a
7
        A.
8
    graduate student in political science, and have
9
    worked with her on some questions related to her
10
   dissertation research.
11
        O.
             And anyone else?
12
        A.
             For this year, no.
13
             And when I say the team -- you mentioned
        Q.
14
    Stephen Ansolabehere. Is he part of the team also?
15
             No. The terminology of a team would be --
        A.
16
    the CCES is a cooperative survey and so teams at
17
    different universities buy in and contribute survey
18
    questions for part of the analysis.
             Who actually designs the survey in CCES?
19
        Q.
20
             The overall survey?
        Α.
21
        Q.
             Yes.
22
             In terms of who to ask? That would be --
        Α.
23
   you could look it up. But it -- they used to be
24
   called Polimetrics. I can't remember if they were
25
   bought out. And Stephen Ansolabehere as the PI, I
```

```
68
 1
   imagine, had something to do with that.
2
             But your participation of that is limited
        Q.
3
   to suggesting questions that they might ask? Is
4
    that what you're saying?
5
             It's more than suggesting. The questions
        A.
6
   that we put in are asked.
7
             Have -- but do you have anything to do
        Q.
8
   with the design of the survey, other than submitting
9
    questions to be asked?
10
        A.
             No.
11
             Do you have -- have you -- other than your
        O.
12
    participation in CCES, have you ever designed a
13
    survey?
14
             Let's see. I think in the spirit of your
        A.
15
    question, not -- not in terms of a large sample
16
   public opinion survey.
17
             Do you consider yourself an expert in
        0.
18
   geography?
19
             I'm -- if you mean the scholarly
20
   discipline of geography --
21
        Q.
             Yes.
22
        A.
             No.
23
              Are you familiar with the discipline of
         Q.
24
    political geography?
25
         Α.
              I've heard the term.
```

- Q. Do you consider yourself an expert in political geography?
- A. To the extent they discuss issues and use methods that overlap with things that I have familiarity with, I would have some expertise.
- Q. But would you consider yourself an expert in political geography?
- A. As I've answered, to -- in the areas where there's overlap, where I do have expertise, then I would have some expertise.
- Q. What's your understanding of what the discipline of political geography is?
 - A. My understanding is that it would involve, in part, looking at issues such as redistricting.
- Q. And do you consider yourself an expert in the issues of political geography that touch upon redistricting?
- A. Well, you're asking about substantive focus areas and, in doing so, I think something that's missing would be -- again, there's areas of any kind of analysis that may involve discussion of costs and benefits of the behavior of individuals, of the way to empirically evaluate phenomena. Those would be the broad areas that I have expertise, and they can be applied across many different fields,

- into many different areas, as my CV suggests.
- Q. Do you consider yourself an expert in residential patterns of different racial and ethnic groups?
 - A. Again, I've given a repeated answer about overlap and use of methods and tools. In terms of a substantive focus of my own inquiry, I would say no.
 - Q. Do you consider yourself an expert on poverty issues as they affect different racial and ethnic groups?
 - A. That's something where I have done more work specifically on that topic, but I would -- I would remind you of the answer about, my expertise is more in methods of analysis that are broadly applicable to many fields and issue areas.
 - Q. So you would not consider yourself an expert specifically on poverty issues as they affect racial and ethnic groups?
 - A. It -- I've done some research looking at health consequences, social determinants of health. And in any analysis, looking at political outcomes, those are often controls. So it depends on what you mean by an expert. I would characterize my expertise more in the way I have, in the broad use of tools within the area of American political

```
71
 1
    economy and policy evaluation.
 2
              Do you consider yourself an expert on
         Ο.
    election fraud?
 3
 4
         Α.
              I would answer the same way. To the
 5
    extent it involves the tools of economic and
 6
    political analysis, I would be able to be conversant
 7
    with those kinds of studies.
 8
              Have you ever done a study on election
         Q.
 9
    fraud?
10
              I have not published an article on
         Α.
11
    election fraud, specifically on that topic.
12
              Have you ever studied election fraud?
         0.
              Broadly construed, studying, yes, I have
13
         A.
14
   read about it.
15
              Other than reading about it?
         Q.
16
              I have thought about it.
         A.
17
              Other than thinking about it?
         Q.
18
              Well, thinking about it covers a lot of
         A.
19
    ground.
20
                   The -- I think some of my work in
21
    progress presentations probably contain some
22
    discussion, but I don't have an exact recollection.
23
              And you've never published any scholarly
24
    work on voter fraud?
25
         Α.
              As the main theme, I mean, we've pointed
```

```
72
   to the voter ID study which I would guess mentions
1
2
   something about illegal voting.
3
              Other than that?
         Ο.
4
              Published might include an op-ed. And so
         Α.
5
   now I'm trying to remember any op-eds I might have
6
   done.
7
                   There's an op-ed called "The Votes
   Are in."
8
              That may have mentioned something about
9
   illegal voting. I don't recall it, the content of
10
   it.
11
              Have you ever done an op-ed on voter ID?
         Ο.
12
              If I were to pick one out -- let's see.
         Α.
13
   That one -- I'm looking at my list here.
14
                   To the best of my recollection, and
15
    looking at my CV, that -- "The Votes Are in," it
16
    looks like that might be an op-ed on that topic.
17
   That's what I recall.
18
              Do you recall what your opinion was that
         Ο.
19
   you gave in that op-ed?
20
              Well, that's going back to 2008, so I
         Α.
21
   don't have a detailed recollection.
22
              Would you consider that a scholarly work?
         Q.
23
                 I generally don't consider op-eds a
         Α.
24
   scholarly work. I thought you were asking about any
25
   publication.
```

```
73
 1
        0.
             Do you consider yourself an expert on the
2
   history of discrimination in Texas?
3
              To the extent any analysis involves
        Α.
 4
    discussion of costs and benefits as -- used as
5
    statistical tools, I would have some expertise.
6
   But, no, I would not say that is a substantive focus
7
   of expertise for me.
8
             Have you published any articles on the
        Q.
9
    application of social science to civil rights
10
   issues?
11
             I think one might characterize a fair
        A.
12
    amount of my work on campaign finance along those
13
   lines. Also the voter ID study, that's what comes
14
   to mind immediately.
15
              On campaign finance, are you
        Q.
16
    characterizing that as a social science analysis
17
    applied to civil rights because of the First
18
    Amendment implications?
19
        A.
             Yes.
20
              Not because of racial or ethnic issues.
         Ο.
21
    Is that correct?
22
              That would be correct.
         Α.
23
                   MR. ROSENBERG: Why don't we take
24
    a -- I think we've been going for about an hour, so
25
    let's take a little break.
```

```
74
1
                   (Recess.)
2
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Professor Milyo,
         Ο.
3
   you've had some connection with the institute of
4
    justice.
              Is that correct?
5
              Is it the institute of justice or
         Α.
6
   Institute For Justice? But I -- yes.
7
              Something that has the words "institute"
   and "justice" in it?
8
9
         Α.
              Yes.
              What is the institute of or for justice?
10
         Ο.
11
              Best of my knowledge, I think I would
         Α.
12
   describe it as a -- I think you would call it a
   public interest law firm or maybe we would call it
13
14
   a -- no, they're not a firm.
15
                   It's a nonprofit that engages in some
   public interest kinds of cases that does some think
16
   tank kind of aspects.
17
18
              And what's been your relationship with The
         Ο.
19
    Institute For Justice?
20
              I have produced some reports for them and
         Α.
21
    I have also been an expert witness.
22
              Do you have an ongoing relationship with
         Q.
23
   them?
24
              I would not characterize it that way.
         Α.
25
              Do you have a current relationship with
         Q.
```

75 1 them? 2 Α. No. 3 Does The Institute For Justice -- has The Ο. 4 Institute For Justice taken a position on voter ID 5 laws? 6 Α. Not to my knowledge. 7 Do you have any relationship with the Koch Foundation, K-o-c-h? 8 9 Α. I receive a grant to teach a seminar course, from the Koch Foundation. 10 11 Is that the only grant you've received Ο. 12 from the Koch Foundation? 13 I've received multiple renewed grants to Α. teach a seminar course, and that's the only current 14 15 grant at this time. 16 Has the Koch -- what is the Koch 17 Foundation? 18 It's some sort of nonprofit that does Α. 19 I mean, my knowledge, it relates to -- they stuff. 20 have an interest in undergraduate teaching programs, 21 is most of my knowledge. 22 Do you know if the Koch Foundation has 0. 23 taken a public position on photo ID laws? 24 I do not. Α. Do you know if the Koch Foundation has a 25 O.

76 relationship with The Institute For Justice? 1 2 Α. I do not. 3 By the way, do you have a personal opinion Q. 4 as to photo ID laws of any kind? 5 What do you mean by personal? Α. 6 Well, do you think photo ID laws are good Q. 7 or bad, that there are concerns, problems, no 8 problems, that kind of thing? 9 Apart from what's in my report? Α. 10 Apart from what's in your report. O. 11 I'd say to the extents, recently I have Α. 12 thought about photo ID laws. It's been more in the context of a researcher, looking for opportunities 13 14 to produce what might be some value-added research. 15 So do you have a personal opinion as to Q. whether photo ID laws are good or bad, generally 16 17 speaking? 18 MR. KEISTER: Objection; form. 19 (BY MR. ROSENBERG) You're allowed to Ο. 20 answer. As a matter of fact, you have to answer. 21 MR. KEISTER: Yes. Unless I instruct 22 you not to, you answer. 23 Well, the reason I'm having trouble with 24 your question in a way that maybe a layperson 25 wouldn't, is that in economics especially, we try to

- distinguish between positive analysis and normative analysis, and, you know, we try to separate those barriers.
 - So of late, I can't say that I've taken a stance on voter ID, other than maybe people seem to make a bigger deal of it than perhaps the evidence warrants.
 - Q. (BY MR. ROSENBERG) When you say people seem to make a bigger deal about it than the evidence warrants, what bigger deal are you referring to?
 - A. What bigger deal?
 - Q. Yeah. You used the words "bigger deal."

 So you mean the --
 - A. It could be this proceeding, it could be -- there's a heated political debate, and as with any heated political debate, one could -- if you're asking for a lay characterization, characterize that as making a big deal of something.
 - Q. And by that you mean people who are claiming that the law is not a good law?
 - A. Well, when you're using the terms good and bad, again, you're sort of mixing here my role as an expert and a scholar doing positive analysis versus some personal opinions that anybody might have.

- Q. And that's what I'm -- I'm asking for your personal opinions.
 - MR. KEISTER: I'm going to -- let me object to form and object to this being outside of the expert reports and the opinions for which he's been designated to testify.

With that proviso, he can answer.

- A. As a personal opinion, I don't have a problem with voter ID laws and -- but I don't think I care terribly strongly, sitting here today.
- Q. (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Let's turn to your opinions in this case, your expert opinions. And let's turn to Exhibit Number 2, which we'll use. Do you have that in front of you?
 - A. This is Milyo 2?
- Q. Milyo 2.
- 17 A. Yes, I do.
 - Q. And in Paragraph 1, you say that you've been asked by the State of Texas to review the expert reports submitted on behalf of plaintiffs, and to comment on the quality of the arguments made regarding the recently implemented voter identification law in Texas SB 14. Right?
 - A. That looks like a verbatim reading.
 - Q. Okay. You did not, yourself, undertake

```
79
 1
    analysis of any data, other than as was presented to
 2
    you by plaintiffs' experts. Is that correct?
 3
              I don't believe it says that.
         Α.
 4
                   I'm asking you that.
         O.
              No.
 5
              In terms of what's in the report, I
         Α.
 6
    believe I cite all of my sources in this report.
 7
              You did not, yourself, attempt to analyze,
         Q.
8
    for example, the TEAM voter list. Is that correct?
9
    T-E-A-M, all capitalized. Is that correct?
10
        A.
              That is correct.
11
              Or the DLS database. Is that correct?
         0.
12
         A.
              That is correct.
13
              Or the license-to-carry database. Is that
         Q.
14
    correct?
15
              That is correct.
         A.
16
              Or any of the federal databases. Is that
         Q.
17
    correct?
18
         Α.
              That is correct.
              And you did not, yourself, come to a
19
         Ο.
20
    conclusion whether from a reasonable degree of
21
    scientific certainty, fewer African-Americans, on a
22
    percentage basis, possess the IDs required by SB 14
23
    than do whites. Is that correct?
24
              I believe the nature of my comments and
         Α.
25
    opinions had to do with the quality of analysis made
```

- by the other experts.
- Q. So you, yourself, did not come to a conclusion as to whether blacks as a group disproportionally do not possess SB 14 compared to whites as a group. Is that correct?
 - A. Well, I presented some evidence that would be consistent with no statistical difference between those groups.
 - Q. Did you come to a conclusion, from a reasonable degree of scientific certainty, that blacks as a group possess the IDs -- do not possess the IDs required by SB 14 compared to whites as a group?
 - A. I did not conduct an original analysis, other than what is contained in the report.
 - Q. You did not -- and the same question as to Latinos as compared to whites. You did not conduct an analysis to allow you to come to a conclusion as to a reasonable degree of scientific certainty that Latinos as a group do not possess SB 14 IDs --
 - A. Well, as discussed in the report, what I commented on was the reasonable degree of scientific certainty, as you put it, about the other experts' conclusions.
 - And so I suppose in the sense of

saying, they don't really have quite the sufficient evidence to make the conclusions they make, you could view that as making a conclusion. I'm trying to interpret your using, you know, some particular words here.

But, again, I would describe the report as speaking to the quality of the arguments made by the other experts. I do present some evidence about statistical significance in holding of IDs across these groups.

- Q. You do not come to any conclusions, yourself, as a result of your own study, as to whether there's a history of racial discrimination against blacks and Latinos in Texas, particularly as to voting. Is that correct?
- A. Again, the substance of the report would speak more to the quality of arguments, on that topic, less so than on other topics, I believe.
- Q. Do you believe that there is a history of racial discrimination against blacks and Latinos in voting in Texas?
 - A. I don't have firsthand knowledge of that.
- Q. Well, whether you have firsthand knowledge or not, do you have any opinion based upon your -- whatever your experience in whatever your fields

```
82
 1
    are?
 2
              The opinions that I have in my report are
 3
    the ones that I'm -- that I currently have at this
 4
    time.
           If you, you know, go outside that, it's
 5
    difficult for me to answer.
 6
              Meaning you don't have an opinion as to
 7
    whether or not there's a history of racial
    discrimination against blacks and Latinos in Texas,
 8
 9
    particularly as to voting?
10
                   MR. KEISTER: Object to form; asked
11
    and answered. You can answer.
12
              Again, lawyers use the word "opinion"
13
    differently than other folks and so hence my -- my
14
    hesitation.
15
                   My report contains the opinions that
    I'm offering as of this point in time.
16
17
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Are you offering an
18
    opinion as to whether or not there's a history of
19
    racial discrimination against blacks and Latinos in
20
    Texas, particularly as to voting?
21
              I don't believe the report speaks to that.
         A.
22
              Do you have an opinion, outside of the
         Q.
23
    report, as to whether there's a history of racial
24
    and ethnic discrimination against blacks and Latinos
25
    in Texas, particularly as to voting?
```

Α.

83 1 MR. KEISTER: Let me object to form 2 and to the extent it calls for opinions outside of 3 the expert report, and the purposes for what this 4 witness has been designated, I object. But with 5 that said, you can answer if you can. 6 I don't have firsthand knowledge. I would 7 have to offer -- if you're asking for an opinion, it 8 would be as a -- as a layperson. I haven't examined 9 the evidence in the context of providing an expert 10 report on that question. 11 (BY MR. ROSENBERG) And as a layperson? Q. 12 Α. My --13 MR. KEISTER: Same objections. 14 My understanding in terms of my personal Α. 15 opinion would be yes. 16 (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Do you have an opinion 17 as to whether there's racialized, polarized voting 18 in Texas? 19 Again, a particular terminology, I don't Α. 20 believe that is something that my expert report 21 speaks to. 22 Do you understand what the term racial --0. 23 do you have an understanding of the term racialized 24 -- racial polarized voting?

It's a phrase that I have seen. And I may

- not have the exact legal interpretation of that.
 - Q. What's your understanding of the term?
- A. Again, this goes outside the bounds of my report, in terms of things that I've expressed an opinion on.
 - Q. Yes. And what is your understanding of the term "racial polarized voting"?
 - A. Broadly speaking, it would be that whites and blacks -- or we could consider different races -- either have different opinions or vote for different types of candidates in a way that has a high correlation with race.
 - Q. And have you ever studied the issue of whether there is racial polarized voting in Texas?
 - A. By "study," do you mean...
- Q. Well, you can tell me how you would use the word "study" and we can go with that definition.
- A. Well, the other expert reports provide some numerical evidence. That's certainly something that I've looked at and thought about. But I don't think I speak to that in the report, so I haven't offered any opinions on that in my report.
- Q. And do you have any basis upon which to dispute the opinions in the other reports to which you've just referred as to racial polarized voting

in Texas?

A. Well, as I've repeatedly said, my report contains the opinions that I have today at this time. If I'm asked to examine other aspects of the expert reports or have the time and opportunity to do so, and/or have the time and opportunity to do so, I might.

But at this time, I would stick to the opinions that I've offered in my report.

- Q. Based upon your experience in whatever your fields are, do you have any opinions as to whether or not there is racial polarized voting in Texas?
- MR. KEISTER: Let me just object to form. And to the extent it's outside the expert report and the issues which he's been designated, I object. With that objection, he can answer if he can.
- A. I don't recall looking firsthand at the kind of data that might speak to that issue, other than some of the evidence presented by the other experts in terms of differences in -- well, they present differences in voting rates, differences in registration rates. That's not directly speaking to the polarized voting, so I have not studied that

86 1 issue. 2 So you have no opinion on that issue? Ο. 3 Again, you're using -- you know, we're in Α. 4 a legal proceeding where opinion means something. 5 My expert opinions are contained in the report I've 6 provided. 7 Do you have a lay opinion on that issue? Q. What was the issue we're talking about? 8 Α. 9 Whether there's racial polarized voting in Ο. 10 Texas. 11 I have not looked at the data. Α. 12 So you don't have an opinion? O. I could speculate as to an uninformed 13 Α. I'm not sure what value that would have. 14 opinion. 15 I'm not asking you to speculate. Q. 16 Do you have an opinion as to whether 17 there was a discriminatory purpose behind the 18 passage of SB 14? 19 I believe to the extent that is discussed Α. 20 in my report, what I've pointed out is that the 21 evidence presented is not entirely consistent with 22 that sort of claim. 23 And where in your report do you say that? Q. 24 Let's see. This doesn't have a page Α. 25 number, so it's -- let's see. The first instance

- that I see would be in Paragraph 18, at the bottom.
- Q. Paragraph 18, at the bottom, is where you
- 3 summarize the 17 expert reports submitted by
- 4 plaintiffs. And part E says, "Racially
- 5 discriminatory intent." Is that what you're
- 6 | referring to?
- 7 A. Below that. "Given the limited time
- 8 | available to me, I consider only the first four of
- 9 these arguments, A through D."
- 10 Q. So you go on to say, "However, my findings
- 11 are sufficient to severely undercut the fifth and
- 12 | final argument, E." Is that what you're saying? Is
- 13 | that what you say?
- 14 A. I believe that is a verbatim reading.
- 15 Q. And what do you mean, which findings are
- 16 sufficient to severely undercut that there was
- 17 | racially discriminatory intent in the passage of
- 18 | SB 14?
- 19 A. The summary I provided here was that SB 14
- 20 was passed with the intent to substantially and
- 21 disproportionately suppress turnout among otherwise
- 22 eligible black and Hispanic voters.
- The kind of evidence that is offered
- 24 primarily has to do with the effects -- and I point
- 25 out throughout the report -- problems with the

```
88
1
   quality of those arguments.
2
                   If we -- can't be sure what the
3
   effects of SB 14 was. It's hard to know what the --
4
   hard to support the idea that it was part of either
   some scheme to achieve those kinds of ends.
5
6
              Is it your understanding that the support
7
   of -- that -- strike that.
8
                   Is it your understanding that
9
   plaintiffs' position as to the discriminatory intent
   behind SB 14 is limited to the effects of SB 14?
10
11
             Well, we're getting into an area that's
        Α.
12
   explicitly an area that I've said I have not
13
   considered this argument.
14
              So the only thing you've considered are
        Ο.
15
   the effects. Is that correct?
16
              I -- what I've written here is, I consider
        Α.
17
   only the first four of these arguments. You didn't
18
   let me finish a response to your other question,
19
   which now I've forgotten.
20
              Well, I'm not sure I didn't let you finish
        Ο.
21
   anything. But you're free to say whatever you want.
22
                   Do you want me to have the question
23
   read back so that you can finish your answer?
24
              Is it something I desire? No. If it was
         Α.
25
   a question you wanted answered completely, then we
```

```
89
1
   probably should.
2
                   MR. ROSENBERG: Well, let's read back
3
   two questions ago. Make it three because of this
4
   colloquy.
5
                   THE REPORTER: "And what do you mean,
6
   which findings are sufficient to severely undercut
7
   that there was racially discriminatory intent in the
8
   passage of SB 14?"
9
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Is that the question
        Ο.
10
   that you did not finish your answer to?
11
        Α.
              I don't think that was.
12
                   MR. ROSENBERG: Read the next
13
   question, please.
14
                   THE REPORTER: "Is it your
15
   understanding that plaintiffs' position as to the
16
   discriminatory intent behind SB 14 is limited to the
17
   effects of SB 14?"
18
            (BY MR. ROSENBERG)
        0.
                                  Is that the question
19
   that you've not finished your answer to?
20
             No, I don't think that was the one I was
        Α.
21
   thinking of.
22
                   MR. ROSENBERG:
                                  Can you read the
   question after that one.
23
24
                   THE REPORTER: "So the only thing
25
   you've considered are the effects. Is that
```

```
90
 1
    correct?"
 2
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Is that the question
         Ο.
 3
    that you did not --
 4
              I think it was going the other direction
         Α.
 5
    in time.
 6
              Well, we're not going to waste more time
         Q.
 7
              The record will speak for itself.
    on that.
 8
                   If there's anything right now that
 9
   you want to add, go ahead.
10
              There may be at some point in time.
         Α.
                                                    This
11
   has been kind of a confusing interaction here, to be
12
   honest.
13
         Q.
              I agree.
14
                   Let's go to Paragraph 54 of the
15
    report.
16
              Are we still in Milyo 2?
         Α.
17
              Yeah. And Paragraph 54 begins your
         O.
18
   discussion concerning the Barreto and Sanchez
19
    survey. Is that correct?
20
              Their survey may have been mentioned
         A.
21
    earlier in the report. I don't recall exactly.
22
         Ο.
              But this is the substance -- Paragraphs 54
23
    through 82 is the substance of your criticism of the
24
    Barreto and Sanchez report? And there's another
25
    section later on I'll get to. But that's the first
```

```
91
    substantive --
 1
 2
              This would -- well, I don't know if it's
 3
    the first, but it is a substantive section.
 4
              Well, is there a section before this in
         Ο.
 5
    your report --
 6
         Α.
              I don't recall exactly if I had cited them
 7
    earlier. I'm...
             In this paragraph, I'm looking at the last
 8
        Q.
9
    sentence where you say, "However, this estimate
10
    (referring to the 1.2 million eligible voter)
11
    estimate) is likely biased upward since the methods
12
    employed by Barreto and Sanchez are likely to
13
    overstate the number of otherwise eligible voters
14
    who lack requisite ID for several reasons."
15
                   Do you see that?
16
         A.
              Yes.
17
        0.
              And can you quantify how likely that bias
18
        Do you have a quantification of that?
    is?
             Other than greater than zero?
19
         A.
20
         O.
             Right.
21
        A.
             I do not.
22
             Okay. And when you say "likely to
        Q.
23
    overstate the number, do you have a quantification
24
    of that?
25
        A.
             I do not produce an exact estimate in
```

92 1 terms of a correction of their work. 2 Paragraph 55, you refer to respondents who Q. 3 do not report their year of birth and respondents 4 who do not report how long they have resided in 5 Texas, and who report that they were born in another 6 country but do not report when they became citizens. 7 Do you see that? 8 **A**. I do. 9 Is it your opinion that because the Ο. 10 respondent did not report his or her year of birth, 11 the results should not be considered in the survey? 12 The context for discussing this has to do 13 with the quality of the data screening and 14 validation. And what I point out in numerous places 15 in the report would be instances of respondent 16 answers that are either difficult to interpret or 17 are inconsistent with other answers. 18 And so I'm raising the question here, 19 talking about how a more thorough check might have 20 been possible. 21 But is it your opinion that because the 0. 22 respondent did not report his or her birth -- year 23 of birth, that the results as to that respondent 24 should be omitted from the survey consideration? 25 A. The concern that I'm raising with

```
93
 1
   respondents that give inconsistent or incomplete
2
    responses has to do with the sensitivity of the
3
    analysis.
             So are you saying they should or should
4
        0.
5
   not be considered in the analysis of the survey?
6
             Well, I think the way you're asking the
7
    question is one of those normative kinds of
8
    questions. I think what we like to do is to see if
9
    different treatments of different responses give us
10
   different results; and if they do, then we have some
11
   concerns and doubts that we should raise.
12
                  In general, with any kind of
13
    empirical study, one expects the researcher to be
14
    doing that kind of a sensitivity analysis.
15
             Did you do that kind of sensitivity
        Q.
16
    analysis specifically in connection with the 210
17
   respondents you describe here or the 87 respondents
18
   you describe here or the 66 respondents you describe
19
   here?
20
             Well, we can refer later in the report to
        Α.
21
   my description of some illustrative sensitivity
22
    analysis. And that would be the description of
23
   Replications 1, 2, 3, and 4, beginning at
24
   Paragraph 73.
             Right. And in Replications 1, 2, 3, and
25
        Q.
```

```
94
    4, did you omit from those replications any of the
 1
2
    respondents whom you describe in Paragraph 55?
3
              Well, let's see what we say here.
         A.
4
    Replication 1 has to do with ambiguous responses to
5
    unexpired ID or suspended driver's license.
6
                   Replication 2 makes an adjustment for
7
    disability exemption and over age 65.
8
                   Replication 3 is similar to 2, except
9
    I drop responses that might render their eligibility
   to vote ambiguous or who refuse to indicate their
10
11
    race and ethnicity. This includes any respondents
12
    that refuse to report their age, disability status,
    state of residence, year of citizenship. I also
13
14
    omit those respondents that report both not
15
    possessing requisite ID and report voting after
16
    implementation.
17
                   So this Paragraph 65 would include at
18
    least some -- I'd have to look back to -- is it 55?
19
         Ο.
              55, that's correct.
20
              So here we have some who are giving
         Α.
21
    ambiguous information about their age.
22
         Q.
              Well --
23
              And --
         Α.
24
              Let me stop you there for a second.
         Ο.
25
             "ambiguous information about their age," if
    you say,
```

```
95
 1
    the respondent gave their age, but did not report
 2
   his or her year of birth, did you or did you not
 3
    omit that respondent in Replication Number 3?
 4
              Repeat the question.
         Α.
 5
              Sure. If the respondent, in response to
         Q.
6
    one of the questions, gave age, or indicated
7
    expressly that they were above the age of 18, 18 or
8
    older, but did not, in response to another question,
   give the year of birth, did you include or not
9
10
   include that respondent in Replication Number 3?
11
             So I believe Replication 3 would drop
        A.
12
   people who refused to answer their age.
13
              That's different than -- I'll have to
         Q.
14
    repeat the question again.
15
                   If the respondent expressly stated
16
    that he or she was 18 years or older, but did not
17
    report his or her year of birth, did you or did you
18
   not include the respondent in Replication Number 3?
19
              I believe the initial screening question
         Α.
20
    asks more than just age 18 and older.
21
                   But the point here was that there was
22
    an inconsistency in response --
23
              That's my question.
         Q.
24
              -- or a potential inconsistency.
         Α.
25
         Q.
              So is it your testimony that you did not
```

```
96
 1
   include all of the 210 respondents whom you say do
   not report the year of birth in Replication
2
3
   Number 3?
4
        A.
             That would be the description of
5
   Replication Number 3.
6
             And how about the 87 respondents whom you
7
   described in Paragraph 55 as not reporting how long
8
   they have resided in Texas. Did you or did you not
9
    include those in Replication Number 3?
10
             So Replication Number 3 omits those
        A.
11
   respondents that refuse to report age, state of
12
   residence, in terms of their length of residency,
13
   that's correct.
14
             Well, there's a difference between state
        0.
15
    of residence and length of residency, is there not?
16
             You are correct in that. And this would
        A.
17
   be -- this would be an area where I could more
18
    accurately describe. You are correct.
19
                  So for 75, we're talking about people
20
   who did not answer how long they have been residents
21
   of the state of Texas.
22
             So even if someone indicated that they
        0.
23
   were a resident of Texas, you would omit them from
24
   Replication Number 3 because they did not state how
   long they were a resident of Texas. Is that
25
```

```
97
 1
   correct?
2
             That would be in Replication Number 3,
        A.
3
   that's correct.
4
              So that would mean that all of those 87
        0.
5
   were omitted from Replication Number 3. Is that
6
   correct?
7
             Some of those may have already been
        A.
8
    omitted for a different reason. It would be --
9
    those that did not give full responses to those
10
    questions.
11
             And then how about the 66 respondents
        0.
12
   described in Paragraph 55 who reported that they
   were born in another country, but do not report when
13
14
   they became citizens, were they included or omitted
15
    from Replication Number 3?
16
             As stated here in Paragraph 75, they would
        A.
17
   be omitted from Replication Number 3.
18
        0.
             And that's because they had not given
19
   their year of citizenship?
20
        A.
              That's correct.
21
             Even though they otherwise stated that
        0.
22
    they were citizens?
23
             In the initial screening question, I
        A.
24
   believe -- we don't have the survey instrument in
25
   front of us --
```

```
98
 1
        0.
             Well, we do, actually.
 2
             -- there, so...
         A.
3
              We'll be showing you the instrument in a
         0.
4
   bit, if need be. But I just wanted to make sure,
5
    from your standpoint, that -- whether or not you
6
    included or excluded the 66 respondents described in
7
    Paragraph 55 who reported that they were born in
8
    another country, but do not report when they became
9
    citizens.
10
                   And as I understand your answer,
11
   you're saying you excluded them. Right?
12
              These would be respondents that gave
    responses that rendered our confidence and their
13
14
   eligibility to vote ambiguous, that's correct.
15
        Q.
              Now, if you compare document -- Milyo
16
   Document Number 2 with Milyo Document Number 1,
17
   Paragraph 55 in each -- do you agree that that's one
18
   of the paragraphs that you made changes to?
19
        A.
              It appears to be so, yes.
20
              And I see three changes. And I was going
         Ο.
21
    to suggest it might even be helpful if you look at
22
    the redline document, Number 3, and see if that
23
    accurately shows the changes. So if you look in
24
    front of you, Milyo Number 3, Paragraph 55.
25
                   And comparing those, is -- are the
```

```
99
 1
    changes that are redlined in Milyo Number 3 the
    changes that you made between Milyo Number 1 and
 2
 3
   Milyo Number 2?
 4
                   MR. KEISTER: And just take your time
   and make sure that you're comfortable with it.
 5
 6
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Sure. And if you're
         0.
 7
   not, you can blame Mr. Whitley.
 8
              Let's see, I see an underlined, a final
         Α.
 9
    evaluation --
10
                   MR. KEISTER: You don't need to speak
11
    on the record. Why don't you look at them, make
12
   your determinations, and that will make it go
13
    quicker.
             Anything you speak on the record, she has
14
    to take down, even if it's out loud to yourself.
15
                   THE WITNESS: I apologize. It will
   be helpful to have them in order.
16
17
              That looks to be like a consistent
18
    description of the changes from Milyo 1 to Milyo 2.
19
             (BY MR. ROSENBERG) And the -- one of the
        0.
20
    changes was the deletion of the sentence, "Further,
21
   Barreto and Sanchez do not attempt to screen out
22
   respondents who may be registered to vote in other
23
   states. Nevertheless, Barreto and Sanchez assume
24
   that all of their respondents are indeed eligible
25
   voters in Texas." Do you see that?
```

```
100
 1
        A.
             I see that.
 2
              And those two sentences were deleted as
         Q.
3
   between Milyo 1 and Milyo 2. Is that correct?
4
        A.
              That is correct.
5
             Are you withdrawing your opinion now on
        Q.
6
   the sentences that were in Milyo 1, but are not in
7
   Milyo 2?
8
             I may want to revisit because this is
        A.
9
    asking specifically about screening for those who
10
   are registered.
11
                   My recollection for this change was
12
    that there was a final screening question. I don't
   have the survey instrument in front of me. We could
13
14
   look at what it asks specifically.
15
              But that's your memory as to why you
        Q.
16
    deleted those sentences?
17
             My memory was that I had not sufficiently
18
   paid attention to the last screening question, and I
19
    thought it merited a change in the text to try to
20
   make it more accurate and clear.
21
              Paragraph 56, you state that, "Respondents
         Ο.
22
    are also asked about whether official voter records
23
    at the Secretary of State's office indicate that you
24
    are currently registered to vote here in Texas." Do
25
    you see that?
```

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

14

15

16

19

20

23

24

- A. Paragraph 56, I do.
- Q. And then you go on to say, "Strictly speaking, respondents can't really know the answer to this question." Do you see that?
 - A. I see that.
 - Q. And what do you mean by that?
- A. Well, they're being asked about official records at the Secretary of State's office, which I assume they're not sitting in the Secretary of State's office. So...
- Q. Do you think that the question fairly asks a voter as to whether or not they are registered to vote?
 - A. Fairly? What do you mean by "fairly"?
 - Q. Well, is that how you would understand the question?
- A. I wouldn't make a point of characterizing it as fair or not.
 - Q. Did you understand the question that way, when you read it?
- 21 A. What struck me was odd was the wording 22 about consistency with official voter records.
 - Q. Was that the entire question that you quoted there?
- A. It doesn't look to be, because it doesn't

```
102
 1
    start with a capital letter.
 2
                   MR. ROSENBERG: Let me just take a
 3
    one-minute break.
 4
                   (Off the record.)
 5
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) And are you saying
         Ο.
 6
    that if a respondent answered the question "No," it
 7
    could have been because the respondent, strictly
 8
    speaking, wouldn't know if the Secretary of State
 9
    actually had records registering him or her?
10
              Could we look at the question?
         Α.
11
              Yeah, but I just -- we will. And if you
         0.
12
    can't answer the question because you don't have the
    survey in front of you, I'm happy to come back to
13
14
    that.
15
              I think it would be better, if you don't
         Α.
16
    mind.
17
              Okay. Let's come back to that.
        Q.
18
                   Let's go to Paragraph 57. You say,
19
    "In general, survey responses are subject to
20
    'motivated reasoning' by respondents; that is,
21
    respondents may systematically misreport on surveys
   in a manner that fits their preconceptions or
22
23
   preferences (ideological and partisan beliefs are
24
   particularly important drivers of motivated
25
   reasoning in surveys)." And then you cite to
```

```
103
 1
   footnote 41. Is that correct?
2
         A.
             That looks like a verbatim reading, yes.
3
             Do any of the sources you cite in footnote
         0.
4
    41 stand for the proposition that respondents
5
    systematically misreport on surveys, asking them for
6
   factual information about themselves in a manner
7
   that fits their ideological or partisan beliefs?
8
             I think it would be helpful to pull out
        A.
9
    those studies and take a look at them.
10
        Q.
             Sure.
11
                   MR. ROSENBERG: Let's have this one
12
    marked.
13
                   (Exhibit Number 4 marked.)
14
         0.
             (BY MR. ROSENBERG) I'm showing you what's
15
   been marked as, I quess, Exhibit 3 -- 4. That's
16
   right. I forgot we already had a 3.
17
                   Is that one of the studies that you
18
   cite in footnote 41?
19
         A.
              It looks to be, yes.
20
             And that's the article by Taber?
         0.
21
             Correct, Taber and Lodge.
         A.
22
              And can you tell me where in that study
         0.
23
    that it states the proposition that respondents
24
    systematically misreport on surveys asking them for
25
    factual information about themselves in a manner
```

```
104
1
   that fits their ideological or partisan beliefs?
2
              I don't believe I made that specific
3
   claim.
4
              Well, you said that respondents may
        Ο.
5
   systematically misreport on surveys in a manner that
6
   fits their preconceptions or preferences.
                                                And these
7
   surveys ask for factual information about the
8
   respondents, is that correct, the surveys that
9
   are -- that Barreto and Sanchez did?
10
              Can I look through the survey?
        Α.
11
                   MR. ROSENBERG: All right.
12
   going to take a break now and get the surveys.
13
                   (Lunch recess.)
14
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Professor Milyo, a
        Ο.
15
   couple of questions that I meant to ask a little
16
   earlier. Did you do all the work on -- that led to
17
   the preparation of your report yourself, or did
18
   anyone help you?
19
              I did all the work. I occasionally
        Α.
20
   discuss issues with colleagues. There's one that I
21
   used as a sounding board along the way --
22
        Q.
              And who is that?
23
              -- but I would say that I did all the
        Α.
24
   work.
25
              I'm sorry.
        Q.
```

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

18

19

23

- A. Professor Tim Groseclose was somebody that I sort of bounced off a couple of ideas.
- Q. Which ideas did you bounce off Professor grossclose?
- A. I think one thing in particular was my summary of the plaintiffs' argument.
 - Q. Anything else?
- A. There's a section of the report -- I'd better look at this here -- where I discussed hypothetical examples 1 and 2 and --
 - Q. What page is that?
- A. Paragraphs 143 through about 146, 145.

 And, you know, those paragraphs are a little wordy

 and complicated, and I recall reading that aloud to

 try to make sure it sounded clear.
- Q. And did Professor grossclose make any recommendations to you in regard to your report?
 - A. No. I don't -- I don't recall anything specific.
- Q. And in terms of any number crunching that you did in connection with your report, you did that all yourself?
 - A. Correct.
- Q. And turning back to the Barreto/Sanchez report, you have no criticisms that Professors

4

5

6

7

8

9

14

15

16

17

18

19

- Barreto and Sanchez are qualified to have conducted the survey they did. Right?
 - A. I didn't speak to that issue.
 - Q. And you have no criticisms, then?
 - A. I raise a number of concerns about what they did. But my opinions are contained in the report and I didn't --
 - Q. Do you criticize the qualifications to have undertaken this survey?
- 10 A. I do not include that kind of broad 11 criticism in my report.
- Q. So the answer is, no, you do not criticize their qualifications to conduct this survey?
 - A. Subject to all the caveats we've mentioned before, that my opinions are contained in the report as of today.
 - Q. Do you have any criticisms of professor -or, rather, of Dr. Barreto's qualifications to
 conduct this survey? His qualifications.
- 20 A. Not that I haven't expressed in the 21 opinions in my report.
- Q. In your report do you express any opinion as to Dr. Barreto's qualifications to conduct this survey?
- A. I think I would characterize the concerns

```
107
    that are raised more about actions that were taken,
 1
 2
    given their qualifications.
 3
              You have no criticisms in your report that
         Ο.
    the surveyors identified -- strike that.
 4
 5
                   In your report you do not criticize
6
    whether the surveys identified an appropriate
7
    population for surveying. Isn't that correct?
8
              What exactly do you mean by that?
         A.
9
              That the universe that they were choosing
         0.
10
    for their survey was not the appropriate universe.
11
             I did not include any criticisms to that
        A.
12
    effect.
13
             You don't have any such criticisms. Isn't
         Q.
14
    that correct?
15
              At this time, my opinions are contained in
         A.
16
    the report.
17
              And they do not include such a criticism?
         0.
18
             I did not include such criticisms in my
        A.
19
    report.
20
             Do you have any such criticisms?
         0.
21
              The opinions that I have are in the
         A.
22
    report.
23
              Do you have any such criticisms, whether
         Q.
24
    or not they're in the report?
25
         A.
              At this time I haven't criticized that,
```

- no. And I haven't given sufficient thought to give you a response definitively.
 - O. Or to have a criticism to that effect?
- A. If I haven't thought about it sufficiently, how can I answer you?
- Q. Well, you can answer me simply by saying whether or not you have a criticism that they identified an inappropriate population.
- A. And I think I've said multiple times, I don't make that criticism in the report.
 - Q. Or outside the report.
- A. Outside the report, I -- I do want to leave open the possibility that if new information is known to me, that I might do additional study and develop some additional opinions. But at this time, my opinions are in the report.
- Q. Based on the information that you have, do you have any criticism, whether or not it's in the report, that Drs. Barreto and Sanchez did not identify an appropriate population for purposes of this survey? Yes or no? Please answer the question.
 - MR. KEISTER: As you sit here today.
- A. As I've said, it's not something that I have given much thought to. It was not a focus of

```
109
 1
   my review of their report.
 2
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) So you have no such
         Ο.
 3
    criticism. Why can't you just answer that question?
 4
         Α.
              I think I have about eight times.
 5
              Well, then yes or no. Do you have any
         Ο.
 6
    such criticism whether or not it appears in the
 7
    report?
 8
         Α.
              Do I have to answer yes or no?
 9
              Yes, you do.
         Q.
10
              I will point out that Barreto and Sanchez
         Α.
11
    suggest they have the ability to tell whether people
12
    answer yes or no even when they don't. I will
13
    answer you -- if you'd repeat the question, I'll
14
    give you a yes or no answer.
15
              Do you have any criticism whether or not
        Q.
16
    it's inside or outside the report that Drs. Barreto
17
   and Sanchez did not identify an appropriate
18
   population for purposes of this survey?
              No, not at this time.
19
        A.
20
        O.
             Thank you.
21
                   Do you have any criticism, whether or
22
   not it's inside or outside the report, that the
23
   sample population approximates the relevant
24
   characteristics of the target population?
25
        A.
              That's not something I address in my
```

```
110
 1
   report.
2
             So, therefore, you have no such criticism
        Q.
3
    at this time. Is that correct?
4
             At this time, I don't have such a
        A.
5
    criticism.
6
        0.
             Do you have any criticism, whether it's
7
    inside the report or outside the report, as to the
8
   method of oversampling that Dr. Barreto and
9
   Dr. Sanchez did in connection with this survey?
             Again, it's not something mentioned in the
10
        A.
11
   report. At this time, I don't have an opinion on
12
   that.
13
             Do you have any criticism, whether it's
14
    inside or outside the report, as to how Drs. Barreto
15
    and Sanchez weighted the responses to the survey?
16
             To the extent I understand their weighting
        A.
17
   process, that's not something I have addressed in
18
   the report. So at this time, I don't have a
19
    concern.
20
             Do you have any criticism at this time,
        Ο.
21
   whether it's inside or outside the report, as to the
22
    response rate that Drs. Barreto and Dr. Sanchez
23
   obtained from their survey?
24
             I believe I did mention something that
        A.
25
    they're -- they could have been more forthcoming
```

```
111
 1
    about -- I'm going off my recollection here, so
2
    maybe I should refer to the report specifically.
3
        Q.
             Sure.
4
             So other than -- and I believe your
         A.
5
    question was about responses?
6
             The response rate.
         Q.
7
             Response rate. And I think in the spirit
        A.
8
    of your question, you're referring to the number of
9
    people that agreed to do the survey versus don't, at
10
   the beginning, when they're first contacted, rather
11
   than response rates to particular questions within
12
   the survey?
13
             That's correct.
        Q.
14
              Okay. You know, one issue I thought of,
        A.
15
   but I don't think it's actually in the report, at
16
   least I'm not seeing it. And this is where memory
17
    and trying to read under pressure don't serve one
18
   well in this context.
19
                   So I'll say, to the best of my
20
   recollection and under the circumstances, I don't
21
   recall having a criticism in the report to that
22
   effect.
23
              Or outside the report, as far as you can
         0.
24
    tell today, sitting here right now?
25
         Α.
              The one thing I recall thinking about,
```

112

which is what I was looking for, was -- I recall not being completely sure if they described the number

of people who start, but don't complete the survey,

- 4 and what they did with those people. I don't --
- 5 honestly don't recall how I resolved that concern or
- 6 whether it was a long-standing concern, or even if
- 7 it's in the current report. I haven't noticed it.
- 8 But that's the -- again, trying to be responsive to
- 9 | your question, that was one concern that was related
- 10 | that I recall --
- Q. But you don't recall how that concern was resolved in your own mind. Is that fair?
- A. I'm not seeing it in the report and so
- 14 | I -- I think it was -- you know, there were time
- 15 constraints, there was a lot going on. I don't
- 16 think that was something that I put into the -- into
- 17 the report as one of my opinions at that time.
- 18 (Exhibit Numbers 7 marked.)
- Q. (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Okay. I'd like to
- 20 show you what's been marked as Exhibit Number 7.
- 21 | We're skipping ahead just to save -- because we've
- got them marked in that order. Can you identify
- 23 | that for the record?
- A. This appears to be a copy of the Texas
- 25 | Survey Instrument -- I believe that was the title of

- the file -- used by Barreto and Sanchez.
- Q. And you're free to look through it. But is this the Texas Survey Instrument that you were referring to when you asked if you could see a copy of, at today's deposition?
 - A. Yes.
- Q. And just to go back and kind of clean up any ambiguity, we were asking you a series of questions about whether or not you omitted from your Replication Number 3, those respondents whose answers were described in Paragraph Number 55. And to the extent that you need to look through the instrument that has now been marked as Exhibit Number 7, Milyo Number 7, could you tell me whether looking at that instrument changes your testimony in any way?
- A. I don't recall what my testimony was exactly.
- Q. Well, I'll tell you. Your testimony was that the respondents whose answers you described in Paragraph Number 55, the 210 respondents who did not give information as to their year of birth, the respondents who did not give information as to -- the 87 respondents who did not report how long they had resided in Texas, and the 66 respondents who

114 1 reported they were born in another country, but did 2 not report when they became citizens, that all of 3 those respondents -- and I understand there may have 4 been some overlap among those three groups -- but 5 they were omitted from Replication Number 3. 6 Yes, that's my recollection. Α. 7 Okay. And looking at the instrument, that Ο. 8 still is your testimony, to the extent that you 9 wanted to look at the survey instrument? 10 I don't recall what spurred the request to Α. 11 look at the survey instrument. 12 That's fine. Ο. Okav. 13 Now, going back to the point we were 14 at before we broke, is it your testimony that survey 15 respondents in this case may have systematically 16 misreported in a manner that fit their 17 preconceptions or preferences as to the questions 18 asked in this survey? 19 It sounded like you were reading something Α. 20 verbatim. Can you point me to that --21 Q. Sure. Looking at Paragraph 57. 22 And the statement here is that in general, Α. 23 survey responses are subject to motivated reasoning. 24 So it is a general concern with any kind of survey

that would touch on some ideological or partisan hot

```
115
   button items.
 1
2
             And do you have any -- do you apply that
        Q.
3
    general principle to questions that are asked for
4
    factual information about the individual, such as,
5
   in this case, whether or not they possess certain
6
   forms of identification?
7
             Well, since I say it's a general concern,
        A.
8
   it would be a general concern for anything that
9
    someone has particular ideological or partisan
10
   belief where their factual response might service
11
   that belief.
12
             And what is your support for that general
        O.
13
   principle?
14
             There is a literature on motivated
        A.
15
    reasoning, and I'm trying to recall if -- there's a
16
   study here.
17
                   So part of it is the identification
18
   of this general phenomena of motivated reasoning.
19
             And those are set forth -- strike that.
         Q.
20
                   And is it your position you find that
21
    support in the footnote to the sentence in your
22
    report, footnote number 41?
23
              This says, "for example," and then cites
        A.
24
    one, two, and three articles that have to do with
25
    the scholarship on motivated reasoning.
```

```
116
 1
        0.
             Do any of those three articles deal with
2
    motivated reasoning as affecting responses as to
3
   factual information as opposed to political beliefs?
4
        A.
             We could look at them in more detail. I
5
    don't recall --
6
             Sure. Let's look at -- we already gave
        Q.
7
   you one of them, I think, marked as Number -- what
8
   is that -- the Taber article is marked as Number 4.
9
        A.
             Number 4. Now, I'm guessing you don't
   want me to read this.
10
11
             Well, you can certainly take a look at it.
        0.
   If you have to take a longer look, we can take a
12
   break and you can read it as long as you want.
13
14
        A.
             So looking at the abstract, this one
15
    focused on opinions about policy.
16
             Right. Not on factual responses. Isn't
        Q.
17
   that correct?
18
        A.
             Well, if someone is saying, I support
19
    affirmative action, that sounds factual.
20
             Doesn't it sound as if that person is
        0.
21
   giving an opinion?
22
             An opinion? I can't have a fact about
        A.
23
   a -- this is my opinion?
24
             Wasn't the focus in the Taber article on
        Q.
25
    confronting arguments designed to either bolster
```

```
117
   opinions or challenge prior beliefs and attitudes?
 1
2
        Α.
             That sounds consistent with the focus of
3
   their article.
4
        Q.
              And the second article was the Bolsen
5
    article, is that correct, that you cited?
6
             Bolsen, Druckman, and Cook.
        A.
7
                  (Exhibit Number 5 marked.)
8
             (BY MR. ROSENBERG) And I'm showing you
        Q.
9
    what's been marked as Number 5. Is that the
10
   article?
11
        A.
             Yes.
12
              And the gist of that article was, when did
        0.
13
    partisan identification slant the evaluation of
14
   political beliefs. Isn't that correct?
15
             Supporter opposition to policies.
        A.
16
             Right. It had nothing to do with survey
        0.
17
   responses as to facts. Isn't that correct?
18
             Well, again, people can -- it's a fact
        A.
19
    whether or not they support a particular policy.
20
              But wasn't the -- weren't -- wasn't that
        0.
21
    article talking about whether or not partisan
22
    identification would change people's opinions and
23
   beliefs, not change facts?
24
             I'm not quite so sure whether it's
        A.
25
    changing beliefs or changing the reporting of
```

```
118
 1
   beliefs.
             Wasn't it on forming attitudes?
2
        Q.
3
        A.
              Again, as they're measured.
4
                   (Exhibit Number 6 marked.)
5
             (BY MR. ROSENBERG) And the third article
        Q.
   was the Beaulieu article, which has been marked as
6
7
   Number 6.
8
             I'm not sure how to pronounce her name.
        A.
9
         O.
              Well, I'm going with my high school
10
   French.
11
                   And, again, the gist of that article
12
   had to do with how one's affiliation with a
   political party affected perceptions as to, in that
13
14
    case, election fraud. Right?
15
              About -- the facts about election fraud?
        A.
16
             About one's belief as to -- one's
         0.
17
   perception of fraud.
18
              Perception of fraud in what sense, sir,
         Α.
19
    are you meaning?
20
              Well, wasn't the conclusion of that paper
         Ο.
21
    that the most substantial effect on a respondent's
22
    perception of fraud depended on whether the
23
    candidate's perceived benefit as shared ^ ck the
    respondent's party's identification?
24
25
                   MR. KEISTER: And let me just
```

```
119
 1
    instruct the witness to -- if you're going to answer
 2
    specific questions, make sure you're taking time to
 3
    be comfortable with it, to the extent you need to.
 4
              I'm just reviewing the abstract to refresh
         Α.
 5
    my memory.
 6
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG)
                                  Sure.
         Q.
 7
              So here they're talking about a motivated
8
    reasoning based more on a desire for their preferred
9
    candidate to win.
10
             Right. But not as to whether or not they
        O.
11
    are answering a fact about themselves honestly or
12
    dishonestly?
13
             Other than that fact might be an opinion
        A.
14
   that they have.
15
              But, again, it's opinions they are talking
         0.
16
    about, correct, that are being affected by the
17
   preconditioning of partisan affiliation?
18
              Well, you're kind of emphasizing the
        A.
19
    semantics here. I'd be more comfortable if I had
20
   time to look at it in more depth.
21
         Q.
              Well, you certainly had time before you
22
    did your report, didn't you?
23
             I was looking for examples of studies that
        A.
24
    are part of this literature.
25
        Q.
              And these were the examples you chose to
```

```
120
 1
   put in your report in --
2
        A.
             That's correct.
3
             -- support of the proposition. Is that
        0.
4
    correct?
5
             In support of the general proposition that
        A.
6
   there exists motivated reasoning.
7
             Not that there exists motivated reasoning,
        Q.
8
   but that respondents may systematically misreport on
9
    surveys in a manner that fits their preconceptions
   of preferences in the context of this survey. Isn't
10
11
   that correct?
12
             In general, survey responses are subject
13
   to motivated reasoning. So that general phenomena
14
   might apply to this survey.
15
             Well, in fact, you went on to say, In the
        Q.
16
   present context, this implies that people who oppose
17
   voter ID laws very strongly may be motivated to
18
   report that they do not possess ID even when they
19
    do. Isn't that what you're saying?
20
             I think it raises that concern; I do.
        A.
21
             Paragraph 58, you say that the survey
        0.
22
    subjected respondents to a lengthy and repetitive
23
    set of questions regarding multiple forms of ID. Do
24
   you see that?
25
        A.
             I see Paragraph 58. Yes.
```

```
121
        Q.
 1
              Okay. Do you have a list of precisely
2
    which questions you would have had Drs. Barreto and
3
    Sanchez omit?
4
        A.
              No, I don't believe I speak to that in my
5
    report.
6
              Do you know how many questions you would
         Q.
7
   have had them omit?
8
             I don't believe I come up with a specific
        A.
9
    number.
10
              And do you have an idea of which questions
         O.
11
   you would have them omit?
12
              That's not something I've given thought
   to. I'm merely commenting on the length and
13
14
   repetitiveness of the survey.
15
              Do you have any concrete evidence to
         Q.
16
    conclude that any respondent did not choose to
17
    cooperate because of the length of the question?
18
              Well, you're asking about motivation.
                                                      I
19
    really can't speak to the motivation of the
20
    respondents.
21
              Well, you said, "It is easy to imagine
         0.
22
    that not all respondents choose to cooperate by
23
    answering completely and honestly." Isn't that what
24
    you say in that paragraph?
25
         Α.
              Yes, I believe it says it is easy to
```

```
122
 1
    imagine.
 2
              That's speculation on your part, isn't it?
         Ο.
 3
              Well, there's a footnote there. Oh, here
         Α.
 4
    it is, "Barreto and Sanchez do not report how many
 5
    respondents failed to complete the survey after
 6
    starting, but survey length, complexity, and subject
 7
    interest are all factors."
 8
                   So they don't report that.
 9
    might have been an indicator. It's the kind of
10
    thing that you might have expected to be reported,
11
    so that would be the concern that I have there.
12
              And do you have any support for any --
13
    scholarly support for the proposition that people do
14
    not answer completely or honestly if a question is
15
    long?
16
              I can recall specific instructions to
         A.
17
    avoid lengthy and complicated questions from the
18
    CCES, in my experience working with them.
19
              You cite to the McCarty article. Does the
         Q.
20
    McCarty article specifically state that people do
21
    not answer completely or honestly if a question is
22
    long?
23
              I believe this is about drop-off.
         A.
24
              That's right. The McCarty article is
         Q.
25
    about response rates. Right?
```

```
123
 1
        A.
             If you want to call those response rates,
2
   yeah. But these are people who agreed and then
3
   dropped off.
4
             And we already -- and we already have
        0.
5
    established that you don't criticize the response
6
   rates in this survey as sufficient to support
7
   conclusions. Isn't that correct?
8
             Other than this footnote that I was
        A.
9
   looking for and couldn't find. And I think
10
   sufficiently explain that it was in my memory, but I
11
   wasn't seeing it in the report.
12
             Paragraph 61, you criticize Drs. Barreto
        O.
13
   and Sanchez's use of the 2013 CVAP data. Do you see
14
   that?
15
             The CVAP from 2008 to 2012 ACS, yes.
        A.
16
             Is the 2014 CVAP data available?
        0.
17
        A.
             I don't believe it is available from that
18
   source.
19
             You agree that the 2014 CVAP data will be
        Q.
20
   much larger than the 2012 CVAP data in Texas?
21
        A.
             "Much" might be a debatable term. My
22
    expectation is that it would be greater.
23
             Do you know how much greater? Do you have
        Q.
24
   an idea?
25
        A.
             I did not form an estimate.
```

```
124
 1
        0.
              Do you know how much Texas's population
2
    grows each year?
3
              That is not something I've spoken to in
        A.
4
    the report.
5
              You also criticize the use of CVAP because
        Q.
6
   you say that it's known that CVAP overstates the
7
   voting eligible population. Do you see that?
8
        A.
              Yes.
9
              And what's your support for that?
10
              I have a footnoted article here, McDonald
        A.
11
    and Popkin.
12
              Does the McDonald article -- and that's
        0.
13
    "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter"?
14
         A.
              That's what's cited.
15
              Does that -- first of all, does that deal
         Ο.
16
    with nationwide figures or Texas specific?
17
              My recollection is that they're looking at
         Α.
18
    national aggregate turnout.
19
              And do you recall about what year that
         Ο.
20
    article -- what year it ended its analysis?
21
              Not off the top of my head.
         Α.
22
              If I suggested 2000, would that refresh
         0.
23
    your recollection?
24
              Given it was published in 2002, that might
         Α.
25
    be plausible, but I don't recall.
```

```
125
        Q.
 1
             Now, the McDonald article, did it say that
2
    CVAP greatly overstated VEP?
3
             I don't believe I used quotes on that.
        Α.
4
    Their concern had to do with turnout rates based on
5
   measurement.
6
             Right. And, in fact, didn't it say that
        Q.
   VAP, VAP, meaning all persons of voting age, whether
7
8
    citizens or not, overstated VEP?
9
             I think I'm seeing a confusion here in
        Α.
10
   what I wrote.
11
             And what's the confusion you're seeing?
        O.
12
             Voting eligible population is typically a
        A.
13
    synonym for citizen voting age population.
14
        Q.
             Right.
15
             So that's a goof on my part there. I must
        A.
16
   have had blurry eyes and saw that. So I apologize
17
   for that.
18
             Let's turn to Paragraph 65. You say it's
        Ο.
19
    unclear how Barreto and Sanchez classified 34
20
   respondents who did not report a race and 24 who
21
    said "other." I'm sorry. And -- yes, 24 who said
22
    "other." And I'm looking at -- if you compare
23
   Document Number 2, Milyo Number 2 to Milyo Number 1,
24
   in that paragraph, there's a change in the figure.
25
    Can you tell me why the figure changed?
```

```
126
 1
        Α.
             So which figure are you referring to?
2
             I'm referring to where you say, "It's
        Q.
3
   unclear how Barreto and Sanchez classify race and
4
   ethnicity of the 34 respondents who do not report
5
   race and ethnicity. Further, it is not clear how
6
   they classify the "-- and in Number 2, it says 24.
7
   Is that correct?
8
        A.
             Correct.
 9
              And originally you had 20. Is that
         Ο.
10
    correct?
11
         Α.
              Correct.
12
              And can you explain the basis for the
         Ο.
13
    change?
14
         Α.
              I don't have a specific recollection of
   making that change, but I believe it would have been
15
16
   going back and rechecking my count. And apparently
17
    I figured 24 was more accurate than 20.
18
              Now, looking at Dr. Barreto and
        0.
   Dr. Sanchez's tables and data and report, did you
19
20
   notice that they had a column for "other"?
21
        A.
              Can we look at their report?
22
        Q.
             Yeah, sure.
23
                   (Exhibit Number 8 marked.)
24
             (BY MR. ROSENBERG) And drawing your
        0.
25
    attention -- well, first of all, if you can identify
```

```
127
1
   what's been marked as Exhibit Number 8. That looks
   to be the initial report submitted by Barreto and
2
3
   Sanchez.
4
                  And directing your attention to
5
   page 13 of that report, Table A, have you seen that
6
   table before?
7
             If it's in their report, I would have seen
        A.
8
   it.
9
             And there is a row for "other," is there
        Q.
10
   not?
11
             There is a row for "other."
        Α.
12
             Does that at least shed some light on the
        Ο.
13
   question as to -- you say it's unclear how they
14
   classify the 24 respondents they specify in "other"
15
   response, and how they classify the race and
16
   ethnicity of 34 respondents who do not record a race
17
   or ethnicity?
18
              It could. I'd have to go through and
        Α.
19
   check the data.
20
                   MR. ROSENBERG: Let me now have
21
   marked this document.
22
                   (Exhibit Number 9 marked.)
23
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) I'm showing you what's
        0.
24
   been marked as Exhibit Number 9, and ask if you've
25
   seen that document.
```

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

- And for the record, that's the second amended notice of deposition duces tecum to
- 3 Dr. Jeffrey Milyo. Do you see that? Have you seen 4 that before?
 - A. Yes, I believe so.
 - Q. And you produced documents a couple of days ago in response to this duces tecum. Is that correct?
 - A. That is correct.
 - Q. The documents that you produced, among them, were there any documents that you had not produced before?
 - A. My recollection is it was a zip file full of academic articles. I tried to go through and identify sources cited in the footnotes and make sure that those were provided to the best of my ability in there, and then I tried to address the questions here to the best of my ability.
 - Q. And specifically, let's look at Paragraph Number 4, which asks for documents pertaining to the -- to respondents described in Paragraphs 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, and 69, and 70. Right?
- 24 A. Correct.
- Q. Did you produce documents responsive to

```
129
1
   that?
2
              I've produced the data set from Barreto
3
   and Sanchez that I was working with.
4
                   (Exhibit Number 10 marked.)
5
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) I'm showing you what's
        0.
6
   been marked as Exhibit 10. Is that what you
7
   produced in response to the request number 4?
8
              I'm not seeing it in here. I recall there
        Α.
9
   was a question asking for specific observation
             And I'm -- I don't know that -- I'm not
10
   numbers.
11
   seeing it here. Maybe that came from another
12
   source.
13
              I'll represent --
        Ο.
14
              This was not in -- specifically in
        Α.
15
   response to that.
16
              Did you produce documents that
   specifically set -- other than Barreto and Sanchez's
17
18
   own data, did you produce your own, either mark-ups
19
   or printout or spit-out of data that specifically
20
   identified which respondents were described in
21
   Paragraph 63, the seven respondents that
22
   self-identify as both white and Hispanic in
23
   Paragraph 64, and so on?
24
              I produced the original data set from
25
   Barreto and Sanchez. I produced the data set that
```

- 1 included the replication variables that I used.
- 2 My recollection is, is that there was
- 3 another question -- it may have come via e-mail --
- 4 for specific row numbers in the data set. And so
- 5 this Exhibit --
- 6 MR. KEISTER: Let me instruct the
- 7 witness, to the extent you're referring to any
- 8 communications you may have had with counsel in this
- 9 case, please don't go into those. If it's not with
- 10 counsel, you're free to do so.
- 11 (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Well, let me put the 0.
- 12 question this way. Do you have a document -- well,
- 13 first of all, what's been marked Exhibit 10, that's
- 14 a document that you created. Is that correct?
- 15 Α. That is correct.
- And this contains row numbers that relate 16 0.
- 17 to the Barreto/Sanchez report. Is that correct?
- 18 That relate to the underlying data used in Α.
- 19 the Barreto/Sanchez report.
- 20 0. (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Professor Milyo, a

- 22 So, for example, just looking at the first Ο.
- 23 page, this says, "Row numbers of some of the
- 24 problematic observations in Barreto and Sanchez
- 25 survey data." That's your language. Correct?

- A. I wrote that, correct.
- Q. Is there another document similar to this that you created that also has row numbers relating to the Barreto/Sanchez data, or is this the only such document?
 - A. I believe this is the only such document.
- Q. Do you have any document that specifically sets forth the row numbers for individuals with suspended or revoked driver's licenses as described in Paragraph 66 of your report?
 - A. It's not in here?
- Q. It is not -- I will represent it's not in there. We can take a few minutes and go off the record and you can look through that and compare that to the requests in Number 4.
- A. As I said, this was not developed in response to this request.
- Q. Did you develop a document in response to that request that set forth the row numbers similar to this document as to those respondents who are described in Paragraph 46 of the subpoena duces tecum?
- A. I don't recall doing so.
- Q. So sitting here, how can you tell me, for example, which respondents you were referring to in

- 1 65 or 66 or 68 or 69 or 70? I assume you can't. Is 2 that correct?
 - A. We could pull up the dataset and I can identify them.
 - Q. When you say that, that means you would have to kind of start from scratch and compare the question that was asked in the survey to the Barreto/Sanchez dataset, and then you would say, well, this is one and this is another, and so on?
 - A. If you wanted the specific row numbers, we could go through that, or you can just do a tabulation to find out -- to say the seven respondents that self-identify as both white and Hispanic. If you want to know the exact row number, then you would have to do an exercise like this.
 - Q. And you never created a document similar to this for the respondents who are described in Paragraph 4 of the subpoena duces tecum?
 - A. My recollection -- and this was a thick document, but it was done under a time constraint.
 - And my recollection is, I was trying to be forthcoming and presenting row numbers of problematic observations. That was my intent.

 Admittedly, it was done under a time constraint.
 - Q. So just walk me through the process, that

- when you were putting together your report and identified individuals with suspended or revoked driver's licenses, did you somehow write that down, create a spreadsheet? What did you do so that you could total up how many such people and identify such people?
 - A. Well, most of these are fairly simple calculations, and so it would have been entered directly into the Word document and then -- as a note, and then the report written, created right around it.
 - It is also sometimes my habit to write notes on a piece of paper. It's not my habit to keep an archive of that once it's written into the document.
- Q. So you would have done it once and would not have maintained that note? Did you recheck -- strike that.
- Do you check over your work in that regard?
- A. There was some checking, and that was one of the reasons for one of the editing changes that we identified.
- Q. And is it your testimony that you have no record at home, your office, anyplace, that

```
134
1
   specifies, by row number, the respondents who are
2
   described in Number 4, if it's not included in
3
   what's been identified as Exhibit -- Milyo Exhibit
4
   Number 10?
5
                   MR. KEISTER: And to the extent you
6
   need to review the document, please take the time to
7
   do so.
8
                   MR. ROSENBERG:
                                   Sure.
9
                   THE WITNESS: I'm sorry, I couldn't
10
   understand what you were saying.
11
                   MR. KEISTER: To the extent you need
12
   to review the document to answer the question --
13
              If this is what I sent, then this is the
        Α.
14
   only...
15
                   MR. KEISTER: But please review it
   and see if that answers the question.
16
17
                   MR. ROSENBERG: And that's why I
18
   specifically said "except as set forth in this
19
   document." I'm not trying to trick him. I'm just,
20
   quite frankly, trying to find out where the
21
   information is.
22
                   MR. KEISTER: I understand. I think
23
   he indicated that he thinks it's in there.
24
                   MR. ROSENBERG: And why don't we take
25
   a break, then.
```

135 1 (Recess.) 2 (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Okay. Professor 0. 3 Milyo, did you have a chance to look at Exhibit 4 Number 10 during the break? 5 I did. Α. 6 Ο. And does that contain all of the 7 information that was requested in Paragraph 4 of the 8 subpoena duces tecum? 9 Α. As I said to you, this wasn't produced in 10 response to that question. 11 Was there another document produced in 12 response to that question that does list the rows 13 that reflect the responses of -- described in 14 Paragraph 4 of the subpoena duces tecum? 15 And actually I want to say, you know, the Α. 16 timing of requests and things that were done under 17 pressure, I should answer with more caveats about to 18 the best of my recollection. I don't want to 19 misrepresent anything. 20 My recollection was that -- as I 21 stated, my understanding was, there was a request 22 for row numbers, I produced that in response to that 23 request and then I received --24 Is it Exhibit Number 9, I believe? This 25 one here?

Q.

136 I believe this came afterward. 1 Α. Correct. And did you comply with the 2 Ο. 3 request that came afterward? 4 As I said, to the best of my ability, I Α. 5 provided documents that I had. The only caveat that 6 I would add is that if this wasn't in the zip file, 7 my understanding was it had already been provided because it had been requested. So I don't recall 8 9 that it was in the zip file that I sent --10 When you say this, you're referring to O. 11 Number 10? To Number 10, that's correct. 12 Α. 13 Well, let's assume that it was in the zip Ο. 14 file --15 I'm sorry. Was or was not? Α. 16 My problem isn't Number 10. Was. 0. 17 problem is whether there's -- my concern is that 18 there's something other than Number 10 that we don't 19 have. 20 I provided documents in response to Α. No. 21 this request. 22 When did you provide documents in response Ο. 23 to that request? We're talking about Number 4. 24 This entire request. Α. 25 And the documents specifically responsive

- to Paragraph 4, other than Exhibit Number 10, would be just Barreto/Sanchez data file. Is that correct?
- 3 Or was there something else?
- A. I provided two datasets, the copy from

 Barreto and Sanchez, the so-called final clean data,

 and then the one in which I had created a couple of

 variables.
- Q. And that was for your replications. Is
 that correct?
- 10 A. That is correct.

15

16

17

- Q. But that dataset did not include the specific row numbers of the respondents described in Paragraph 4 of the subpoena duces tecum. Is that correct?
 - A. Well, if you click on "browse data," there will be row numbers in there. So, yes, it does include row numbers.
- Q. So you're saying that if we look at that,
 we would be able to identify each and every one of
 the persons that -- for example, in Paragraph 64 you
 describe as individuals with suspended or revoked
 driver's license?
 - A. I'm sorry, are we on Milyo 1?
- Q. No. Back in Document Number 4, which refers to Paragraph 66.

```
138
 1
         Α.
              Document 4?
              I'm sorry. Paragraph 4 of Document 9.
 2
         Ο.
 3
              Document 9, which is referring to a
         Α.
 4
    paragraph in Milyo -- is it 2 or --
 5
              It doesn't matter. It will be the same
         Q.
 6
    thing.
            It's Paragraph 66.
 7
              Okay. So I have the stuff in front of me
 8
    here. So what was the question?
 9
              All right. Well, let's look at
         O.
10
    Paragraph 67 of which document you're looking at.
11
    Milyo which?
12
         A.
              2.
13
              Okay. And that says, first, Barreto and
14
    Sanchez include individuals with suspended or
15
    revoked driver's licenses among the group that lacks
16
    requisite ID. Correct?
17
         Α.
              That's what that says.
18
              And you're telling me that if we click
         Ο.
19
    on the browse function, did you say?
20
              Or you browse the data, yes.
         Α.
21
              If we browse the data that you sent in
         Ο.
22
    response to subpoena, we will be able to identify
23
    specifically which individuals you're referring to
24
    in Paragraph 67?
25
         Α.
              You will be able to identify if you do --
```

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

- it would be easier if you did a tabulation first on the response to the relevant ID question, and then you could identify observation numbers or row numbers for individuals with suspended or revoked driver's license.
 - Q. But will those necessarily be the same ones that you identified?
 - A. I identify that there were people with this characteristic. And from my understanding of the way --
 - O. Go ahead.
 - A. From my understanding of the way in which Barreto and Sanchez create their ID variable, it appears that they treat individuals with suspended or revoked licenses as individuals who do not have a driver's license for SB 14 purposes.
 - Q. By the way, as to the individuals that you identified in that -- formed in that category, did you check those respondents' answers to see if they were -- had been able to look at their license during the survey?
 - A. We would have to look to where the number of them is described. So I think it would be helpful if we pull up the survey, since you're asking about specific survey questions and

```
140
    tabulations of data results.
 1
 2
                   Okay. So Question 7A asks
 3
    specifically about the series of questions about the
 4
    license being currently valid, suspended, or revoked
 5
    or maybe lost or stolen, or you don't have it in
 6
    your possession.
 7
              So how does that respond to my question?
         Ο.
 8
         Α.
              I'm not remembering your question.
                                                   I've
 9
    been looking at the survey instrument.
10
         Ο.
              Okay. Let me ask my question again.
11
                   Did you check respondents' answers to
12
    see if they were able to look at their license
13
    during the survey? And that would be on 7B. Isn't
14
    that correct?
15
              I've certainly looked at 7B. What is your
         Α.
16
    question?
17
         0.
              My question is whether, as to any of the
18
   people whom you identified as having a suspended or
   revoked license, you looked at their answer to 7B
19
20
    and took that into consideration as to how to
21
    classify this --
22
        A.
              What I was pointing out is question by
23
   question, responses that seemed problematic.
24
              Well, let me ask you this. If a voter
        Q.
25
    indicated that his or her license was suspended, but
```

```
141
 1
   the voter was not able or not willing to take out
2
    the driver's license and check the expiration date,
3
   for example, how did you classify that voter?
 4
        A.
             I didn't do that kind of a classification.
5
    I don't believe that that's claimed in the report.
   I looked sequentially at the answers to each type of
6
7
   question, trying to understand the nature of
8
   responses that people gave.
9
              And in your replication, did you just omit
         O.
10
    all persons who stated that they did not -- well,
11
   strike that.
12
                   How do you treat people who responded
13
   that their license was suspended or revoked?
14
         A.
             Which replication?
15
             In any of the replications.
         Q.
16
             Well, let's see, in Replication 1, I do my
         A.
17
   best to -- following the report here in Barreto and
18
    Sanchez, to classify individuals who are without an
19
    ID, and then go back and ten if any of them --
20
    specifically, I omit responses that give answers of
21
   don't know.
22
                   So these would be people who were
23
    classified as not having ID, but had given an
24
   unsure, maybe, can't remember, don't know, or
25
   refused to provide an answer to any ID question.
                                                      So
```

```
142
 1
   they were classified as not having ID, even though
    they didn't affirmatively say that they did not have
2
3
    an ID.
4
             Did this -- did the answer to 7A on
        O.
5
    suspension or revocation factor into --
6
             Right. So continuing past --
        A.
7
                  THE REPORTER: Wait, you guys are
8
    starting to talk over each other. It's getting late
9
    in the day and I can't keep up.
10
                  THE WITNESS: My apologies.
11
             Paragraph 73, there's a semicolon and so
        Α.
12
    the sentence continues, I also omit respondents
13
   having a suspended driver's license.
14
                  And so, again, this would be
15
   individuals that were classified as not having an
16
   ID, but had reported -- or otherwise classified as
17
   not having an ID, but reported to have a suspended
18
   driver's license. The intention is to omit those as
   well.
19
20
                  So these would be these sort of
21
   responses where we're not sure if a person has the
22
   requisite ID or not. What happens if we omit them
23
   from the analysis? That's Replication 1.
24
                  Replication 2 is identical to
25
   Replication 1, but then does some additional
```

Q.

```
143
             3 is identical to 2, with some additional
1
   changes.
2
             And 4 is identical to 2 with some
   changes.
3
   additional changes.
4
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Turn to Paragraph 68.
        Ο.
5
   And that's a paragraph where you made a change if
6
   you want to compare Milyo 1 to Milyo 2, or simply
7
   trust the redline in Milyo 3.
8
        Α.
              Paragraph?
9
              68.
        Q.
10
              It's a long paragraph. I will try to find
        Α.
   it in the redline.
11
12
              Which is Milyo 3. And the change I want
        Q.
13
   to focus on is, you took out all 44 of these cases,
   is that correct, and you added the words "appeared
14
15
   to"? And this is in the next-to-last sentence of
   that paragraph.
16
17
              So in 68, the last sentence --
18
   next-to-last sentence -- that appears to be correct,
19
   yes.
20
              And why did you do that?
        Ο.
21
              Again, the nature of these changes was, I
        Α.
22
   had identified a couple of instances where it looked
23
   like I was either unclear or not accurate, and I was
24
   trying to improve the clarify and accuracy.
```

And do you have any notes relating to

```
144
    those changes?
 1
 2
         Α.
                   Just the reports.
              No.
 3
              I'd like to turn to the creation of the
         0.
 4
    replications themselves. When you say in your
5
    report that you took out certain respondents, does
6
    that mean that you completely took them out of
    the -- your calculations? You did not treat them as
7
8
    either yes or nos as to ID?
9
              I just want to get to that section of the
10
    report.
11
                   So in Replication 1 where I say, Omit
12
    certain respondents, that would be correct, that the
13
    analysis would be done without including those
14
    respondents.
15
              Did you run any of -- make any runs of
         Q.
16
    replications that are not included in your report?
17
              Quite possibly, yes.
         Α.
18
              Do you know which ones? Let me strike
         Ο.
19
    that.
20
                   Did they take into consideration --
21
    I'm sorry.
22
                   Were those other runs based upon --
23
    including certain of the respondents you identified,
24
    but not others, for example, perhaps including
25
    suspended people but not revoked --
```

- A. No.
- Q. -- or anything like that?
 - A. No, not of that -- not that sort of micromanaging. It was more an issue of, did it make more sense to -- you know, how to order these things and running the estimates with and without weights, issues of that sort. But I didn't -- I don't recall sort of mixing and matching these categories.

The only thing that comes to mind would be -- let's see, which is the most expansive here -- is 75. This was one where you could go -- this is Replication 3, I believe, refused to indicate race. This is where you could go on and on with sort of respondents who have given inconsistent answers of one type or another. And so I think it -- I just sort of truncated it here rather than incorporating every possible instance of an inconsistency that I could -- that I could go through.

- Q. By the way, do you have any scholarly research or secondary literature support for your treating of what you call ambiguous answers the way you did?
- A. It would not be uncommon, in empirical analysis of surveys, to check sensitivity analysis

```
146
    to different ways of coding responses, and
 1
 2
    especially with regard to nonresponses.
             But specifically in your report, you do
 3
4
   not list any of scholarly research support or
5
   academic literature support for what you did. Is
6
   that correct?
7
             For what I did?
        A.
8
             Yeah, for your omitting what you
        Q.
9
    considered to be ambiguous answers.
10
             I don't see any footnotes here in the
        A.
11
   report, if that's what you're asking.
12
              Now, when you mentioned that you looked at
         O.
   different -- whether to weight it or not.
13
                                                Is that
14
    what you just said, in terms of some of these other
15
    runs you were --
16
              That would be one -- that would be one
         Α.
    specification I recall looking at. And -- yes.
17
18
              How did you wind up ultimately weighting
         Ο.
19
   what --
20
              What I did ultimately is to try to tow as
         Α.
21
    closely as possible to what appeared to be the
22
    analysis in Barreto and Sanchez. So I used their
23
    weights, I used their tests of statistical
24
    significance. I used their Logit analysis.
25
         Q.
              And did you find any problems with those
```

```
147
 1
    weights that they had chosen or their statistical
 2
    significance approach or any of those things that
 3
    you applied to your replications?
 4
         Α.
              I did not. As we covered already, I did
 5
    not produce any opinions about the weights or
 6
    criticize the weights. In terms of a particular
 7
    statistical test, it seemed more straightforward to
 8
    just use the same one that they did. I wanted to
 9
    focus the comparison on what happens if we make
10
    these particular changes.
11
                   MR. ROSENBERG: Do you want to take a
12
    quick break?
13
                   (Discussion off the record.)
14
             (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Now, when you dropped
        0.
15
    what you call the ambiguous cases from the data,
16
   that winds up with -- you wind up with a smaller
17
    sample of the data. Is that correct?
18
              That would be correct. It's a subsample.
        A.
19
              Did you -- did you reconstruct the weights
        0.
20
    of the new smaller dataset?
21
        A.
              I did not reconstruct weights.
             Do you think you should have reconstructed
22
        Q.
23
   weights?
24
        Α.
             It's not uncommon, in statistical analyses
25
    and sensitivity analysis, to do something exactly
```

```
148
 1
   like what I did here.
2
              Even when you are reducing the universe,
        Q.
3
   reducing the size of the dataset?
4
        A.
             It's not uncommon to look at subsamples.
5
             Without doing any kind of reweighting?
        Q.
6
        Α.
              It's not uncommon to do that.
7
             Do you have any scholarly literature,
        Q.
8
    academic support, secondary support for that
9
   proposition?
10
             It's not something that I cited in the
        A.
11
   report.
12
              Okay. Let's turn to a slightly different
         Q.
13
    subject. You reviewed the reports of Drs. Chapman
14
    and Henrici and Jewel and Webster. Is that correct?
15
              I've looked at them, yes.
         Α.
16
              Now, do you criticize Dr. Webster and
         0.
17
    Chapman because they analyze travel time in terms of
18
    time rather than money?
19
              Can you refer me to where in the report I
         Α.
20
    discuss that?
21
              Well, I was hoping you would do that.
         Ο.
22
    let's start with 115, I am told. Actually 1 -- you
23
    can read over 113, 114, and 115.
24
              Okay. I see a typo. Okay.
         Α.
25
              Are you criticizing Drs. Webster and
         Q.
```

- Chapman because they analyzed travel time in terms
 of time rather than money?
 - A. No. I believe the point here is about the existence of opportunity costs that might vary.
 - Q. So it's not your position that the only way to approach this issue is to monetize it, is it?
 - A. I don't believe I say that.
 - Q. Did you have a chance to review Dr. Chapman's reply report?
 - A. I'm sure I've glanced at it. I can't -- nothing -- there's so many reports, I can't really recall anything specific.
 - Q. Do you agree with the proposition that it's well accepted within the fields of urban planning and transportation studies that the effort involved in individuals traveling from one location to another by automobile, public transportation, or walking may be measured by examining the time or distance associated with such trips, with a preference for using time because it accounts for differential speeds of different mode choices?

 MR. KEISTER: Object to form. You can answer.
- A. That was a very long statement. I think
 the first part of it, if you would repeat it, would

```
150
 1
    help me answer it.
 2
             (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Sure. That it's well
         Q.
3
    accepted within the fields of urban planning and
4
    transportation studies that the effort involved in
5
    individuals traveling from one location to another,
6
    by car, public transportation, or walking, may be
7
    measured by examining time or distance associated
8
    with such trips?
9
         A.
              I don't believe I report any opinion that
10
    speaks directly to that.
11
              So you don't dispute that?
         O.
12
              I have no basis to dispute it.
         A.
13
              Do you dispute that there is a preference
         Q.
14
    for using time because it accounts for differential
15
    speeds of different mode choices?
16
              I don't speak to that in my report.
        A.
17
              So you have no basis to dispute that?
         0.
18
              I have not disputed that in my report.
         A.
19
              In Paragraph 119 of your report, you say
         Ο.
20
    that experts for the plaintiff adopt methodologies
21
    that exaggerate the travel costs of obtaining IDs,
22
    and you go on to describe that position as
23
    ridiculous, and explaining that if a rational person
24
    desires to travel to multiple destinations, for
25
    example, the bank, the grocery store, and the post
```

```
151
    office, then they endeavor to minimize travel time
 1
 2
   by combining activities into as few trips -- you say
 3
    tips; I assume you meant trips -- as possible.
 4
                   Have you ever heard of the expression
 5
    "trip chaining"?
 6
         Α.
              I have heard of it.
 7
              Do you agree that trip chaining is
         Q.
8
    substantially harder for people who are not
9
    traveling by car, but instead by public
   transportation or walking?
10
11
              I imagine it would depend on the context.
         A.
              Are you disputing that trip chaining is
12
         O.
    substantially harder for people who are not
13
14
    traveling by car, but are traveling by public
15
    transportation, for example?
16
              I'm saying it depends on the context.
         Α.
17
              Well, you can't redirect a train, for
         Q.
18
              Is that correct? You cannot redirect a
    example.
19
    train to a -- to stop it there --
20
              But you were making a general statement.
         Α.
21
              Right.
         0.
22
              And I said it depends on the context.
         Α.
23
              Do you dispute the principle that it is
         Q.
24
   generally accepted that trip chaining is
25
    substantially harder for people who are not
```

```
152
   traveling by car, but instead are traveling by
 1
2
    public transportation or walking?
3
              I don't think my report speaks to that.
        A.
4
              So you don't dispute that as a general
         0.
5
    proposition?
6
              I don't believe my report disputes that.
         A.
 7
              You understand that Dr. Chapman has found
 8
    that it's almost entirely those individuals who are
 9
    traveling by public transportation who would
10
    experience the greatest travel burden in obtaining
11
    an EIC? Do you understand that as being his
12
    conclusion, one of his conclusions?
13
              I would have to look back at the -- there
         Α.
    were so many reports, I would have to look back at
14
15
               I don't believe I specifically spoke to
    that one.
16
    that in my report.
17
              So you don't challenge the specific
18
    finding that -- assuming that that was Dr. Chapman's
19
    specific finding, that it is almost entirely those
20
    individuals who would travel by public
21
    transportation who would experience the most travel
22
   burden?
23
              I don't believe I speak to that in my
        A.
24
    report.
25
         Q.
              Paragraph 120, you indicate that the
```

```
153
    potential costs of obtaining identification may be
 1
 2
    ameliorated by the actions of neighbors, friends,
 3
    relatives, et cetera. Do you see that?
 4
         Α.
              Yes, I do.
 5
              Now, you agree that that is unpredictable
         0.
 6
    in the sense that that's going to vary from
 7
    individual to individual and circumstance to
 8
    circumstance?
 9
         Α.
              Well, being variable and unpredictable are
    two different concepts.
10
11
              Well, do you agree that is unpredictable?
         Ο.
12
         Α.
              I think I need to know what you mean by
13
    unpredictable.
14
              Well, I'll accept what your definition is
         Ο.
15
    if you tell me what your definition is.
16
              That there's some probability.
         Α.
17
              Let's start there. Can you quantify how
         0.
18
    likely it is that potential costs of obtaining
19
    identification may be ameliorated by the actions of
20
   neighbors, friends, relatives, et cetera?
21
              I have not attempted to quantify that in
         A.
22
   my report.
23
              Are you aware of any study that has looked
         0.
24
    at that issue of how potential costs of reducing
25
    travel burden may be ameliorated by the actions of
```

neighbors, friends, or the like?

- A. I do not cite such studies here.
- Q. Are you aware of any such studies, whether you cite them here or not?
- A. Well, there's a very large literature on social capital, which is in general about how connections between individuals can provide different kinds of benefits, and rides would be an example of one of those kinds of benefits.

There's also a -- literature about the mobilization effects of different kinds of phenomena where political entrepreneurs may try to facilitate the ability of people to vote.

So I'm aware of some general literatures that might apply, but in terms of a specific study that I would have cited, I do not have a footnote here.

- Q. And you agree that there would be -- there could be, for example, quid pro quo, which could be a cost in terms of asking a neighbor or a friend to provide a ride?
- A. We could consider a number of scenarios and different possibilities. That might be one.
- Q. And so there would be costs even if people were able to get rides from neighbors or friends,

Q.

```
155
1
   and there's a time value, for example, in searching
2
   for a ride. Correct?
3
                   MR. KEISTER: Objection; form.
                                                    Calls
4
   for speculation.
5
                                   I agree with that.
                   MR. ROSENBERG:
6
              (BY MR. ROSENBERG) But you can answer.
        Q.
7
              I believe the point here is in terms of
   what the experts for the plaintiff did or did not
8
9
   consider. And so the examples that you're bringing
10
   up would also be things that they did not consider.
11
             And the other side of that coin, for
12
   example, you did not consider that even for
13
   households who supposedly have access to a car, that
   the car may be broken down. Correct?
14
15
              In what sense should I be considering
        Α.
16
   that?
              Well, you're talking about amelioration by
17
18
   the actions of neighbors, friends, relatives,
19
   coworkers, et cetera. But there are also conditions
20
   that could make -- could go in the other direction
21
   that may vary by individual by individual, even if
22
   someone has access to a car?
23
              So are you imagining a scenario where a
        Α.
24
   car is permanently broken down?
```

Perhaps, or that the person did not have

```
156
    access to the car even if there's a car in that
 1
 2
    household. It's certainly possible, isn't it?
 3
         Α.
              So the question is?
 4
              That there are factors that go in the
         O.
 5
    other direction of amelioration that may vary
 6
    individual by individual.
 7
              I would have to look back at their study
    to -- you know, you're asking me to make additional
 8
 9
    criticisms of what they have done. The opinions
10
    that I've produced in the report are those that I've
11
    thought about.
12
              Can you testify, to a reasonable degree of
    scientific certainty, that the amelioration of
13
14
    burden that you describe in Paragraph 120 will
15
    decrease the travel time burden borne by blacks and
16
   Hispanics compared to non-Hispanic whites?
17
              I don't believe that I state that in the
         Α.
18
   report.
19
              Now, Paragraph 121, you theorize that even
         Ο.
20
    if it costs money to get the underlying documents
21
    for an EIC, the cost is not totally attributable to
22
    the cost obtaining the EIC. Is that correct?
23
              I'm sorry, what paragraph?
         Α.
24
              121.
         Q.
25
         Α.
              And so what is the question?
```

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

17

18

19

20

- Q. You theorize that even if it costs money to get the underlying documents for an EIC, the cost is not totally attributable to the cost of obtaining an EIC?
 - A. What do you mean by theorize?
- Q. Well, that's your theory, your opinion; you opine.
 - A. I state here that one would want to apportion that in some way.
- Q. You do admit that at least \$3 for a birth certificate is attributable entirely to the cost of obtaining an EIC. Is that correct?
- MR. KEISTER: Object to form.
- A. I believe I state here that some individuals can buy a \$3 EIC. So, I'm sorry, what's the question?
 - Q. (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Well, that the \$3 for the birth certificate which you describe in Paragraph 121 is attributable entirely to the cost of obtaining the EIC.
- MR. KEISTER: Object to form.
- A. Well, the context here goes on to discuss other things.
- But in terms of what document you're using, my understanding is, the EIC is only useful

- 1 for the purpose of voting. So in that sense, the \$3
- 2 | would be a cost of doing that and it doesn't
- 3 necessarily provide any concomitant benefits, other
- 4 | than the ability to vote in multiple elections.
- Q. (BY MR. ROSENBERG) In Paragraph 122, you
- 6 say that because an EIC is valid for six years, you
- 7 | should divide the cost of obtaining it by the number
- 8 of elections -- and I think that's what you're
- 9 referring to -- that a voter will be able to
- 10 participate in during that six-year life of the EIC.
- 11 | Right?
- 12 A. I believe it says one way of doing so. It
- 13 | should be apportioned in some manner over time.
- Q. Now, you agree that time spent in travel
- 15 is perishable, do you not?
- A. What do you mean by "time spent in travel
- 17 | is perishable"?
- 18 O. You don't get it back.
- 19 A. I don't know that we get any time back.
- Q. Right. Are you aware of a single study
- 21 that stands for the proposition that individuals
- view travel time in the same way that they view --
- A. I'm sorry, there was crosstalk. Would you
- 24 mind starting over with the question?
- Q. I didn't hear the crosstalk. I must have

```
159
 1
    missed something.
 2
                   MR. POSNER: Whispering too loudly.
 3
             (BY MR. ROSENBERG) Are you aware of a
        0.
 4
    single study that stands for the proposition that
5
    individuals view travel time in the same way that
6
    they may view an investment in durable goods, where
    a theory of behavior based on amortization may have
7
8
    some value?
9
        Α.
             I don't believe I cite a study of that
10
    sort.
11
             Paragraph 124, you raise the question,
         0.
12
    "Does the individual bear any responsibility for
    maintaining a record of citizenship and voter
13
14
    eligibility." Do you see that?
15
        A.
             I do.
16
             Can you think of reasons as to why a
17
    person who might not have an ID does not necessarily
18
    bear a responsibility for that situation?
19
              That wasn't what I was thinking about
         Α.
20
    there in this context. The context I had in mind
21
    is, the same person losing their ID documents
22
    multiple times and whether we should consider that
23
    something --
24
              Other than that example, you agree that
         Ο.
25
    there are many instances you can think of where a
```

```
160
1
   person is not at fault for not having an ID.
                                                    Is
2
   that correct?
3
              I haven't thought about it. I don't
         Α.
4
   believe I discussed that here.
5
              Do you dispute that notion?
         Q.
6
         Α.
              What notion?
7
              That a person may not bear fault for not
         Ο.
8
   having an ID?
9
         Α.
              What do you mean by "fault"?
10
              Well, you used the word "responsibility."
         Ο.
11
   You say, "Does the individual bear any
12
   responsibility for maintaining a record of
   citizenship and voter eligibility?"
13
14
                   Can you think of instances where the
15
   person does not bear responsibility for not having a
16
   record of citizenship and voter eligibility?
17
              Well, it's not something I've spoken to in
         Α.
18
   the report.
19
                                    I am going to pass --
                   MR. ROSENBERG:
20
   yep, I'm passing the witness to Mr. Freeman. If you
21
   want to take a break now --
22
                   MR. FREEMAN:
                                 I'm fine.
                                             Would you
23
   like to take a break, sir?
24
                                 Let's keep going.
                   THE WITNESS:
25
                   (Discussion off the record.)
```

EXAMINATION

BY MR. FREEMAN:

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- Q. Professor Milyo, I introduced myself earlier, but, again, my name is Dan Freeman, and I represent the United States in this litigation. And essentially the same rules apply as Mr. Rosenberg explained earlier.
- I know we've been going for a while, and there are miles to go before we sleep. But if you need another break, let me know, happy to take one. If you need coffee, water, happy to make sure that you have that. Is that okay?
 - A. Yes.
- Q. Okay. First off, just so you know, as a ground rule, I'm only going to be discussing your August 15th report. So when I refer to your report, that will just be Exhibit 2, which you have in front of you. Correct?
 - A. Correct.
- Q. Okay. First, did you read the corrected report of Dr. Stephen Ansolabehere in its entirety in preparation for your August 1st report?
 - A. Are you referring to the supplemental report from Dr. Ansolabehere?
 - Q. I'm referring to the corrected report.

- A. I'm trying to recall how many Ansolabehere reports there have been.
- Q. I can represent to you that there was an initial report and then there was a correction in which there were just some slight modifications made to that initial report, and that was at the end of June /beginning of July. And then there was a supplemental report.

So I'm referring to the middle report. Did you read that report in its entirety in preparation for your August 1st report?

- A. My recollection is that the report -- and there may have been appendicis -- was quite long. So I don't think I would say that I have literally read it from cover to cover.
- Q. And how many hours did you spend reviewing Dr. Ansolabehere's report, to the best of your recollection?
- A. I really don't have a basis for making that estimate. I mean, it's...
 - O. More than 10?
 - A. I don't recall. And in part, it's hard to answer because there were multiple reports. And one might look from one to another.
 - Q. Did you at any time sit down and say, now

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

- 1 I'm going to read Dr. Ansolabehere's report, and
 2 read that report, or was it more of a back-and-forth
 3 process, just so I understand?
- A. I've probably looked at that report multiple times.
 - Q. Did you read the corrected report of Dr. Barry Burden in its entirety in preparation for your August 1st report?
 - A. And, again, there's multiple reports moving around.
 - Q. I will represent to you again, very similarly to Dr. Ansolabehere's report, there was an initial report and then there was a corrected report in which just one paragraph was changed, just one, and that was filed, I believe, early July; and then there was a supplemental report. So I'm referring again to the middle one. Did you read -- and that's the longer one.
 - Did you read that report in its entirety in preparation for your August 1st report?
 - A. The Burden report that I read, I don't recall if there were appendicis or not to that report. Can we take a look at it?
- Q. You know, I've printed a lot of things.
 I'm not certain that I printed that, but it is my

```
164
1
   recollection that there were not appendices.
2
                   MR. ROSENBERG:
                                    I'm sorry, which
3
   report?
4
                   MR. FREEMAN:
                                 Burden.
5
                                    Which one, the
                   MR. ROSENBERG:
6
   original?
7
                   MR. FREEMAN:
                                  The corrected.
8
                                    But not the reply
                   MR. ROSENBERG:
9
   report?
10
                   MR. FREEMAN: No, not the reply.
11
              (BY MR. FREEMAN)
                                Excluding any appendices
         Ο.
12
   that there may have been, did you read the corrected
13
   report of Dr. Burden in its entirety?
14
              My recollection is that I would have.
         Α.
15
   Although, again, with multiple copies of reports
   running around, it's difficult to be 100 percent
16
17
   sure at this stage.
18
              Did you read the corrected report of
19
   Dr. Chandler Davidson in its entirety in preparation
20
   for your August 1st report?
21
              My recollection with Davidson -- I'm not
         Α.
22
   recalling his corrected report. Do you have a copy
23
   of it? You might refresh my memory.
24
              Again, I can represent to you that the
         Ο.
25
   corrected report was nearly identical to the
```

```
165
   original report, but for a small change in a single
1
2
   number reflecting a change in Dr. Ansolabehere's
3
   initial report, a correction.
4
                   So did you -- do you recall -- did
5
   you read the entire, either original report or
6
   corrected report of Dr. Chandler Davidson in its
7
   entirety?
8
        Α.
              You know, so many experts, so many
9
             I'm actually not recalling the Davidson
10
             Let's see. To the best of my recollection,
   report.
11
   I would have -- I think I need to see it to really
12
   recall.
13
                   Because if there were appendices --
14
   some of them have numerous appendices and I'll admit
15
   to if they weren't directly relevant to things that
   I was going to be speaking to, that I would have
16
17
   just glanced at them.
18
              Let's exclude appendices to make this
19
             Excluding appendices, do you recall if you
   easier.
20
   read the entirety of Dr. Davidson's report in
21
   preparation for your August 1st report?
22
              I'd like to see the report to refresh my
        Α.
23
   memory.
24
              I have a copy of Dr. Davidson's
25
   supplemental report, which is similar, although some
```

```
166
1
   paragraphs have changed. But perhaps this can
2
   refresh your recollection. If we are just using it
3
   to refresh, we won't mark this as an exhibit.
4
              I recall reading much of this. There was
         Α.
5
   one section that's referencing events in the '60s
6
   that is less familiar to me at this point in time.
7
   But I believe I did read through the Davidson
8
   report --
9
              Okay.
         Ο.
10
              -- at some point.
11
              So at some point you read it cover to
         Ο.
12
            Is that your testimony?
              That is my recollection at this time.
13
         Α.
              Okay. Did you read the report of Yair
14
         Ο.
15
   Ghitza in its entirety in preparation for your
16
   August 1st report?
17
              Can we see the report?
         Α.
18
              It's the individual who is employed by
         Ο.
19
   Catalist.
20
              I know. But there's lots of reports with
         Α.
21
    lots of pages, and you seem to be being very
22
   specific, and so I want to be thorough in my
23
   response.
24
              Well, perhaps we can -- to the extent that
25
   you're going to want to see them, we will have them
```

```
167
1
   printed out and we'll get you a copy and we'll come
2
   back to this, to the extent you're not able to
3
   answer. So I'll just mark these down.
4
                   MR. FREEMAN: Let's go off the record
5
   for a moment.
6
                   (Discussion off the record.)
7
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) Dr. Milyo, did you -- to
         Ο.
8
   your recollection, did you read the report of
9
   Dr. Jane Henrichi in its entirety in preparation for
10
   your August 1st report?
11
         Α.
              Can we see the report?
              We'll get that for you, then, after a
12
         Q.
13
   break.
14
                   And did you read the corrected report
15
   of Dr. Gerald Webster in its entirety in preparation
   for your August 1st report, geographer from the
16
17
   University of Wyoming, if that helps.
18
              It helps. But, again, there were many
         Α.
19
   reports, many different names.
20
         Q.
              Okay.
21
              And...
         Α.
22
              Then we will loop back to those three.
         Ο.
23
   That's fine.
24
                   At this time have you read the
25
   supplemental and reply report of Dr. Barry Burden in
```

168 1 its entirety? 2 Α. I know I've looked at the report. 3 haven't had a lot of time to absorb it. 4 Okay. So you've looked at it but you O. 5 haven't necessarily read it in its entirety. 6 that correct? 7 You know, I don't keep a spreadsheet of Α. what I've read in its entirety versus read one half 8 9 one day and the other 49 percent another day. These are differently -- you know, in that sense, it's 10 11 difficult. 12 So you're not certain? Ο. 13 I know I've looked at that report. Α. 14 Okay. But you're not certain if you've Ο. 15 read it in its entirety? 16 Α. I believe I've said I've looked at that 17 report. 18 And my question is whether you've read it 19 in its entirety, and if you're certain that you've 20 read it in its entirety. 21 I am not certain that I have read it in Α. 22 its entirety. 23 Thank you. And have you read the Ο. 24 supplemental report of Dr. Chandler Davidson in its 25 entirety?

- A. Again, I'd like to see the report.
- Q. That one is right here. And it's actually the report that I showed you before, it's just that there is an updated version of it, which is the actual version that you have in front of you now.
- A. For this supplemental report, I recall looking to see if there were any particular responses to my report.
- Q. And what particular responses were you looking for?
- A. Well, I was looking for whatever particular responses might exist.
 - Q. What types of responses were you looking, for, though, other than looking for your own name to appear in the report?
- A. To see if it seemed to be addressing any arguments that would be relevant to my report.
 - Q. And what arguments were those with regard to Dr. Davidson?
 - A. Again, I haven't had a lot of time with the supplemental reports. I haven't produced a document in response to them, so that would be going beyond the opinions that I've expressed in my report and something that I could do and speak to in the future. But at this time, I haven't really spent

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170
1
   enough time with all the different supplemental
2
   reports.
3
              Well, sir, you just testified a moment ago
        Ο.
4
   that you were looking through that specific report,
5
   looking for specific responses to specific
6
   critiques. And my question is: What specific
7
   responses to specific critiques were you looking
   for?
8
9
              And I think you have put words in my
        Α.
10
   mouth.
11
              If we could, I quess, go back, then.
        Q.
                                                     Τf
12
   we could look back on the record to his response
   when I asked if he had looked through the
13
14
   supplemental report of Dr. Davidson.
15
                   And so I asked: "This one is right
          And it's actually the report that I showed
16
   here.
17
   you before, it's just that there is an updated
18
   version of it, which is the actual version that you
19
   have in front of you now?"
20
                   And you answered, "For this
21
   supplemental report, I recall looking to see if
22
   there were any particular responses to my report."
23
                   I asked:
                            "And what particular
24
   responses were you looking for?"
25
                   And you answered, "Well, I was
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171
1
   looking for whatever particular responses might
2
   exist."
3
                   Now, my question is: What particular
4
   responses to your report were you looking for?
5
              And as I answered, I didn't have a
        Α.
6
   particular expectation of what I might see.
                                                  It was
7
   a new report that I looked at.
8
                   And also as I've said, I haven't had
9
   sufficient time to really absorb and think about the
10
   supplemental reports.
11
              So you skimmed through the supplemental
        Ο.
12
             Would that be accurate?
   reports.
              I've said I've looked at the supplemental
13
        Α.
14
   reports.
15
             Have you read the supplemental report of
        Q.
16
   Dr. Gerald Webster in its entirety?
17
              I believe, as with the others, I've looked
        Α.
18
   at the supplemental reports. And I don't recall
19
   Webster's supplemental report. If you could produce
20
   that, it might help refresh my memory.
21
                   I'm sorry, what was the question?
22
              Having now reviewed the supplemental
        0.
23
   report of Dr. Webster, the question is: Have you
24
   read the supplemental report of Dr. Gerald Webster
25
   in its entirety?
```

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172

th
or

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th a

is
tive.

- A. I don't believe so.
- Q. Did the State of Texas provide you with additional data from Dr. Ansolabehere in July or August of 2014?
 - A. What do you mean by "additional data"?
- Q. Did the State of Texas provide you with a dataset produced by Dr. Ansolabehere in either

 July or August of 2014?
 - A. I know there were some zip files sent
 fairly recently. July, I think not. But July is
 right next to August, so it's hard to be definitive.
- Q. It would have been the very end of July or anytime in August.

MR. KEISTER: And let me caution the witness to please respond only to his question and not to anything related to communications with the Attorney General's Office, outside of what he's asking you.

- A. With this case there have been a number of datasets produced by different experts. You know, if you can show me the particular files, that might help in terms of answering whether I had them and at what time.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) Now, you're aware that in this case, the State of Texas, when it initially

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173
 1
   produced the Department of Public Safety's driver's
 2
    license database, omitted 3.1 million records from
 3
    that first production. Correct?
 4
              My understanding is that there was some
         Α.
 5
    sort of problem.
 6
              And are you aware of whether
   Dr. Ansolabehere conducted initial -- excuse me,
 7
    additional analysis after receiving those 3.1
 8
 9
   million additional records, as well as information
    related to the card status field that was related to
10
11
    that production error?
12
              I know that there was a recently produced
13
    Ansolabehere report that comes up with different
14
   numbers and presumably is based upon the updated
15
   data. I recall an explanation of that in his
16
   report.
17
              And did you receive the underlying data
        0.
18
   that was produced related to that report, prior to
19
   the date that you produced your supplemental report?
20
              I didn't rely on it in any report that I
        Α.
21
   did, so I don't recall if I did or didn't or have.
22
   I have not looked at that data.
23
              And why did you not look at that data?
        Q.
24
              Because I did not have time and it was not
        A.
25
   within the -- I want to say purvey. I'm not sure if
```

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

- 1 that's the right word -- my assignment here and time
 2 constraints.
 - Q. Did you ever ask the State of Texas if you could have an extension to the deadline to produce your August 15th report?
 - A. I didn't know I could ask for an extension.
 - Q. So, no, you did not ask?
 - A. I did not ask for an extension.
 - Q. And to the extent that Dr. Ansolabehere's additional data took into account the 3.1 million records that had not been produced and that his results changed significantly as a result of including those 3.1 million records, it's your opinion that it was not within the purview of your report to assess those updated data files from Dr. Ansolabehere?
 - A. I did not assess the un-updated data files in doing my report. The report was based on the description of his analysis in his report.
 - Q. And so you never looked at the underlying data files that he produced to see if the no-match number, for example, was lower once the 3.1 million
- records were included?
- A. No, I did not.

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

21

25

- Q. And you didn't look to see what racial disparity existed based on Catalist race estimates in the updated data prior to producing your supplemental rebuttal report. Correct?
 - A. In the updated which data?
- Q. In the August data that he produced that included analysis of the 3.1 million previously omitted DPS records.
 - A. I did not look at those DPS records.
- Q. You did not look at Dr. Ansolabehere's analysis based on those DPS records, correct, based on your --
- 13 A. Correct. As I stated, I looked at his 14 reports.
- Q. And you didn't think that it was within the scope of your report to assess
- Dr. Ansolabehere's underlying data once he had received the omitted DPS records?
- MR. KEISTER: Objection; asked and answered.
 - Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) Correct?
- A. The scope of the report is potentially enormous and beyond what any one human being could do. So I had limited time and ability.
 - And as I explained in the report, I

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176
 1
   give opinions on things that I have been able to
 2
    analyze and discuss.
 3
              But you have not been able to analyze and
         Ο.
 4
   discuss Dr. Ansolabehere's analysis of the matching
 5
   results once those matching results included the 3.1
 6
   million DPS records.
                          Correct?
 7
              You keep saying "his analysis." Do you
 8
   mean his report or the underlying data?
 9
              I mean the underlying data that he
         Ο.
10
   produced.
11
              I have not examined the underlying DPS
         Α.
12
   data.
13
              And have you examined the post-match data
         0.
14
    that Dr. Ansolabehere produced to the State of Texas
15
   prior to the production of your August 15th report?
16
         Α.
              No.
17
             I'd like to start off by talking about
        O.
18
   database matching as a general matter. If you could
   turn to Paragraph 21 of your report.
19
20
                   Am I correct that in Paragraph 21,
21
   you state, "I am unaware of any scholarly studies"
22
   that analyze the effect of voter ID by examining
23
   non-matches between a State voter registration
24
   database and external databases"?
25
        A.
              That's what's written there.
```

177 1 0. And do you make a similar statement in Paragraph 22? 2 3 There is a similar statement Α. Uh-huh. 4 there. 5 Have you ever relied on database matching Q. 6 in any part of your own scholarly work? 7 And I am aware that Professor Ansolabehere 8 has cited a study claiming that it's a contradiction 9 to that claim. Having seen that, I might change the 10 wording of this to be more accurate. 11 So as you stand now, you would -- you Ο. 12 would no longer assert that you are unaware of any 13 scholarly studies that analyze the effect of voter 14 ID by examining non-matches? 15 Well, the study that he refers to Α. 16 specifically is estimating effects of ID on turnout 17 where they use a matched dataset as an input. 18 don't recall that the authors describe doing the 19 matching analysis. 20 So the distinction here is between 21 studies that are analyzing turnout as an effect of 22 voter ID versus those that stop by just looking at 23 matching data bases and pointing to persons that may 24 or may not have ID. 25 So I understand his point, and I

```
178
 1
    agree that I did not state this in a way that is
 2
    clear or correct. So it could be edited.
                                               I'm not
 3
    good at editing on the fly here.
 4
              So what you're unaware of was not studies
         O.
 5
    that examine the effect of voter ID by examining
 6
    non-matches. You're unaware of studies that measure
 7
    the effect of voter ID in terms of non-matches.
    Would that be more accurate?
 8
 9
         Α.
              At that time, yes. I would say that the
10
    idea of trying to evaluate voter ID based on
11
    non-matches of this sort of database matching solely
12
    is what I had in mind.
             Okay. Back to the question I asked a
13
         Q.
14
    moment ago. Have you ever relied on database
15
   matching in any form in part of your own scholarly
16
   work?
17
         A.
             Well, what do you mean exactly by database
18
   matching?
19
             Record linkages between large databases.
         Q.
20
              I think in the spirit of your question, in
        Α.
21
    terms of replicating this kind of analysis, no.
22
    There are other ways of matching databases, but I
23
    don't think you mean that.
24
              Okay. Are you aware of whether database
         Ο.
25
    matching has been used in other areas of social
```

```
179
    science, outside of the studies of the effects of
 1
 2
    voter ID?
 3
              I don't know that I cite any in my report.
         Α.
 4
              My question is to your awareness as a
         0.
 5
    social scientist as to whether database matching is
6
    an accepted practice in the study of social science
7
    and --
8
              I have a general awareness that there
        A.
9
    exists studies or people who do database matching.
10
              And that's an accepted practice within the
         O.
11
    social sciences. Correct?
12
              I suppose it depends how it's done.
         Α.
13
              A properly conducted database match would
         Q.
14
    be an accepted practice within the social sciences.
15
    Correct?
16
              That sounds like a tautology. Yes.
        A.
17
                   MR. FREEMAN: Mark this as
18
    Exhibit 11.
19
                   (Exhibit Number 11 marked.)
20
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) Dr. Milyo, what is this
        0.
21
    document?
22
        A.
              This looks to be a copy of a report that I
23
    wrote for the Institute of Public Policy at the
24
    Truman School at the University of Missouri.
25
        Q.
              And this is a working paper. Correct?
```

```
180
1
        Α.
             No. It's a policy report. I believe
2
   that's what they call it.
3
             So it's not published in a peer-reviewed
        0.
4
   journal of any kind; it's simply published by an
5
   institution within the University of Missouri?
6
        A.
             That is correct.
7
             Okay. Let's turn to end note 3.
        Q.
8
        A.
             Oh, end.
9
             It's on page 8. In end note 3, you cite
        0.
10
   to a 2007 working paper by Hood and Bullock.
11
   Correct?
12
             Well, I'd have to look in the references.
        A.
13
              I'll represent to you that the Hood and
         Q.
14
   Bullock reference is in the same paragraph as the
15
   Gerber and Green reference. There should have been
16
   a carriage return there, and there is not.
17
              That looks like, yes, it's referencing a
         Α.
18
   working paper.
19
             And that was a scholarly study that
        Q.
20
   analyzed the effect of voter ID by examining
21
   non-matches between a State voter registration
22
   database and an external database. Correct?
23
             Which was?
        A.
24
             The Hood and Bullock article -- or working
        0.
25
   paper from 2007.
```

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4

5

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11

12

13

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181 ould

A. I don't remember the specifics of that working paper from 2007. Do you have a copy?

Q. We'll get there in a moment. If you could look at your end note 3, would that refresh your recollection as to the substance of that working paper?

Having reviewed end note 3, would you agree that the 2007 working paper was a scholarly study that analyzed the effect of voter ID by examining non-matches between a State voter registration database and external databases?

- A. I cite one -- one thing here about that study. Without looking back at the 2007 study that I wrote about in 2007, it's difficult to remember what exactly was in that working paper.
- Q. Well, you assert that Hood and Bullock found that about 5 percent of registered voters in Georgia do not have a valid driver's license or State identification card. Correct?
 - A. That's what's stated in end note 3 here.
- Q. And you state here that Hood and Bullock
- made a rather egregious error in that study. Am I
- 23 correct?
- A. There is the statement, "This is a rather
- egregious error."

- O. So you assert that Hood and Bullock made a
- 2 rather egregious error in their study. Am I
- 3 correct?

4

5

6

7

8

9

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11

14

15

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19

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21

22

23

24

- A. In this end note 3 of the 2007 report.
- Q. And that's a report that you wrote?
 - A. That's correct.
- Q. Okay. And what you describe as an error was that Drs. Hood and Bullock did not investigate how many of the registered voters' names in Georgia are actually attached to eligible voters. Correct?
 - A. That's what's written here.
- Q. Is that the same deadwood issue that you describe in your August 15th report in Exhibit 2?
 - A. I'd have to look back at the report to see the context.
 - Q. So you can't tell me, sitting here today, whether the issue that you identify in end note 3 is the same issue that you identify in your August 15th report related to deadwood? You're not able to do that?
 - A. I would like to look back at that report and get a recollection of what it is they did that I was talking about. It's difficult to think back seven years, out of context.
 - Q. But reading end note 3 is not enough

```
183
 1
    information for you to be able to understand your
 2
    own critique. Is that what you're saying?
 3
              I'd like to be more certain.
         Α.
 4
         0.
             That's fine.
 5
                   MR. ROSENBERG: Why don't we take a
 6
    break.
 7
                   (Recess.)
8
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) Okay. We're back on the
         Q.
    record. And we now have a copy of the 2007 working
9
10
    paper from Drs. Hood and Bullock.
11
                   So I believe my question was -- well,
12
    going back to the beginning, Drs. Hood and Bullock,
    that was a scholarly study that analyzed the effect
13
14
    of voter ID by examining non-matches between a State
15
    voter registration database and external databases.
16
    Correct?
17
              I would have to look at it.
         Α.
18
                   MR. FREEMAN: We can go off the
19
    record.
20
                   (Discussion off the record.)
21
              So what's the question about this working
         Α.
22
    paper?
23
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) The question was whether
         Q.
24
    this was a scholarly study that analyzed the effect
25
    of voter ID by examining non-matches between a State
```

- voter registration database and external databases.
- A. This is a study that, in part, does an
- 3 analysis or a prediction of possession of ID and
- 4 also looks at voter turnout.
- And the prediction of possession of voter
- 6 ID is based on an examination of non-matches between
- 7 a State voter registration database and external
- 8 databases. Correct?
- 9 A. That's my understanding, from trying to
- glance through the 2007 working paper.
- Q. And in your 2007 report, which has been
- 12 marked Exhibit 11, you assert that Hood and Bullock
- 13 | found that about 5 percent of registered voters in
- 14 Georgia do not have a valid driver's license or
- 15 | State identification card. Correct?
- 16 A. This is end note 3?
- 17 Q. End note 3 on page 8.
- 18 A. The quote here is that they argue that
- 19 about 5 percent of registered voter names do not
- 20 have a valid driver's license or State
- 21 | identification card.
- Q. And you state, in end note 3, that Hood
- 23 and Bullock made a rather egregious error in their
- 24 | study. Am I correct?
- 25 A. That is stated there in end note 3.

- Q. And you keep using the passive voice. But this is your writing. You stated, in this paper, that they made a rather egregious error. Correct?
- A. Well, it's the past tense. I'm trying to -- in 2007, yes. What's written here is, this is a rather egregious error.
- Q. And what you describe as a rather egregious error was that Dr. Hood and Dr. Bullock did not investigate how many registered voters' names in Georgia are actually attached to eligible voters. Correct?
 - A. That would seem to be the statement here.
- Q. Is that the same deadwood issue that you describe in your report in this case?
- A. I would have to look back at exactly what they did to further understand if that's exactly the same deadwood issue that I have referenced in multiple occasions in the report. It's a more complicated question than it seems.
- Q. What is your understanding of the term "deadwood"?
- A. I believe that I use the term deadwood -I note in footnote 4 that in my report, I'm using
 the term "deadwood" to describe any name listed in a
 database of registered voters that's not a real

- person, not alive, not residing at that address, or otherwise not actually an eligible voter.
- Q. And is the same deadwood issue you discuss in your report in this case, the same issue that you discuss in end note 3 of your 2007 report?
- A. Without having read Hood and Bullock in detail to verify, I would say that it appears to be, sitting here.
- Q. And was Hood and Bullock's total failure to investigate deadwood, did that render their analysis fatally flawed, according to your paper?
- A. I'm not seeing the words "fatally flawed."

 Do you see where that's written?
- Q. I'm not asking if it's a verbatim recitation in there. I'm asking, from your analysis, to the extent that you are able to understand what you previously wrote, would you say, to your mind, that the total failure to investigate deadwood rendered that analysis fatally flawed?
- A. I think what I would say is what is written here.
- Q. My question is, is that analysis fatally flawed due to the failure to investigate deadwood?
- A. Well, your -- there's more to what they do than just that, so we would have to look through.

2

3

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19

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23

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25

187

But as I've stated here, there's a concern about registered voter names that are not actually attached to eligible voters.

- An egregious concern? Ο.
- I believe I said an egregious error. Α.
- Are you aware of whether Dr. Hood and Q. 7 Dr. Bullock's working paper was eventually published in a peer-reviewed journal?
 - Α. Well, if you show me the article that they published, I could compare them.
- 11 I'm asking to your knowledge, right now. 12 Do you know if the 2007 working paper was eventually 13 published in a peer-reviewed journal?
 - I know that they have a recent publication Α. in a peer-reviewed journal, and this is a seven-year-old working paper that I have limited recollection of.
 - So you don't know if that working paper, as you sit here now, became an article in a peer-reviewed journal. Is that correct?
- 21 Well, I imagine there may have been some Α. 22 changes.
 - Do you know if a subsequent iteration or 0. revision of that particular paper was published in a peer-reviewed journal?

- A. Well, let's check and see if the title is exactly the same. That might be one way to answer. If you don't want to provide me the article.
- Q. I'm asking for your current knowledge.

 MR. FREEMAN: Let the record reflect that the witness is examining Exhibit 2 at this time.
- A. I'm looking for the title of the published article.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) Perhaps this is easier. Without looking at your report, are you able to tell me, yes or no, whether or not you currently know whether that 2007 working paper was published in a peer-reviewed journal in a subsequent revision?
- A. Well, I just found the section I was looking for.
- Q. There we go. Having now looked at your report for a few minutes, are you able to say whether or not the 2007 working paper was subsequently published in a peer-reviewed journal?
- A. Darn it, I'm looking for the particular citation to see if there was any change in the title.
- Q. Having looked at your report for a few minutes, you are not able to tell me, from your

```
189
 1
   personal knowledge and your expertise as a social
 2
    scientist, whether or not the 2007 working paper was
 3
   published in a revised form in a peer-reviewed
 4
    journal.
              Is that correct?
 5
              Well, that's a different question than
         Α.
 6
   you've been asking me repeatedly.
 7
              And I'm trying to speed up the process,
   because you've been looking at your report for
 8
 9
    approximately five minutes. Is that correct?
10
              My understanding is that a revision of
         Α.
11
    this paper was published.
12
              Okay. Are you aware of whether Dr. Hood
         Q.
13
    and Dr. Bullock published a second article in a
   peer-reviewed journal in which they also relied on
14
15
   database matching to assess the impact of Georgia's
16
   voter ID law?
17
              We've cited many papers here, and at this
18
    late point in the day, papers are running together
19
    in my mind, so...
20
              I'm happy to refresh your recollection on
21
    that one.
22
                   MR. FREEMAN:
                                 Mark this as
23
   Exhibit 12.
24
                   (Exhibit Number 12 marked.)
25
         Q.
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) Dr. Milyo, what is that
```

```
190
1
   document? What is Exhibit 12?
2
              This is a copy of a paper. The title is
         A.
3
    "Much Ado About Nothing."
 4
              Are you familiar with that paper?
         Ο.
 5
              Yes, I am.
         Α.
 6
         Q.
              Have you read it before?
 7
         Α.
              I have.
 8
             And is this a second article published by
         Q.
9
   Dr. Hood and Dr. Bullock in a peer-reviewed journal
   in which they rely on database matching to assess
10
11
   the impact of Georgia's voter ID law?
12
              As we have already discussed, this is a
   paper in which they analyze voter turnout based on a
13
14
   matched database that they access, I believe, from
15
    the -- I believe it's from the State of Georgia, in
16
   the analysis.
17
              Are you aware of whether Dr. Charles
18
    Stewart has published an article in the Oklahoma Law
19
    Review in which he relied on database matching to
20
    assess the impact of South Carolina's voter ID law?
21
              You know, I have not been aware of the
         Α.
22
    Oklahoma Law Review article until I recently saw a
23
    reference to it. I noticed it in one of the
24
    supplemental reports, I believe.
25
        Q.
             At this time, are you now aware whether
```

- 1 Dr. Charles Stewart has published an article in the
- 2 Oklahoma Law Review in which he relied on database
- matching to assess the impact of South Carolina's
- 4 voter ID law?
- A. I am aware of the claim. I have not
- 6 looked up the original article yet and read it for
- 7 myself.

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

- Q. So you're aware that he has published a scholarly work in which he relied on database matching to assess the impact of South Carolina's voter ID law. You just haven't personally assessed the article yourself. Would that be fair?
- 13 A. I am aware of the claim made in one of the 14 supplemental reports. I haven't looked up the 15 article and read it for myself.
 - Q. So would it then be fair to say you're not familiar with the entire scholarly literature on assessments of the effects of voter ID laws?
 - A. There are new papers coming out all the time. If we're going back to working papers from seven years ago or longer, in terms of what's committed to memory and can be called up immediately, that would not be something I would be able to do without refreshing my recollection or doing additional research.

```
192
 1
         Ο.
              What about an article published in 2013 by
    Dr. Charles Stewart? You weren't aware of that
 2
 3
    prior to this litigation. Is that correct?
 4
         Α.
              The Oklahoma Law Review article?
 5
         Q.
              Yes.
 6
         Α.
              The Oklahoma Law Review article was one
 7
    that I was not aware of.
 8
              Okay. Have you ever attempted to obtain a
         Q.
 9
    driver's license database for research purposes?
10
         Α.
              No.
11
              Are you aware of whether states usually
         Ο.
    make such files available outside of litigation?
12
13
              I am not aware.
         Α.
14
              If you could turn to Paragraph 14 of your
         0.
15
    report, Exhibit 2.
16
                   To your knowledge, is the number
17
    of -- is the number of eligible voters that you
18
    describe experts for the plaintiffs claiming lack
19
    SB 14 ID contained in Paragraph 14, still accurate?
20
   Does it accurately reflect the current claims of
21
    experts for the plaintiffs?
              There have been supplemental and revised
22
         A.
23
   reports, using additional data where the overall
24
   numbers have changed.
25
         Q.
              So the numbers in Paragraph 14, no expert
```

```
193
1
   for any of the plaintiff groups continues to make
2
   the claim that you describe in Paragraph 14.
3
   that correct?
4
             No, I don't believe that's correct.
        A.
5
             You believe that some experts still
        Q.
6
   maintain that more than 1 million eligible voters in
7
   Texas lack SB 14 ID?
8
             No. I said I don't believe it.
        A.
9
        O.
              Okay.
10
              Because I believe Barreto and Sanchez did
        Α.
11
   an estimate of voters, and I'm not recalling
12
   offhand, without looking back at their supplemental
   report, whether they have removed that from their
13
14
            There would be no reason for them to do so,
   report.
15
   but I believe they came up with an estimate of 1.2
16
   million voters without ID, based on the first cut of
17
   their survey.
18
             None of the experts who are using a
        Ο.
19
   database-matching methodology are continuing to
20
   assert that more than 1 million otherwise eliqible
21
   voters in Texas lack SB 14 ID. Correct?
22
              As I said before, I haven't had a lot of
        Α.
23
   time with the supplemental reports, and so this was
24
   written based on the reports that I had at the time.
25
        Q.
              Did you have access to data, prior to
```

194 1 August 15th, based on that you could have updated 2 this figure? 3 Objection; form. MR. KEISTER: 4 Α. I'm not sure what you mean by "data." 5 (BY MR. FREEMAN) Did you have access to 0. 6 data produced by Dr. Ansolabehere prior to 7 August 17th, based on which you could have updated this figure to more accurately reflect the claims 8 9 being made by plaintiffs' database-matching experts? Α. Which claim? 10 11 The claim that more than 1 million Ο. 12 otherwise eliqible voters in Texas lack SB 14 ID. I don't recall being in possession of the 13 Α. 14 data, but I know that I did not examine data for 15 that purpose. 16 Would you agree that every paragraph in 17 your report in which you assert that 18 Dr. Ansolabehere found a specific number of 19 non-matched voters, is no longer accurate? 20 I would need to compare my report to his Α. 21 report, paragraph by paragraph, to answer that. 22 Would you agree that every paragraph in 0. your report in which you assert that 23 24 Dr. Ansolabehere found a specific number of 25 unmatched voters reflects the analysis conducted by

195 1 Dr. Ansolabehere prior to receiving 3.1 million 2 additional DPS records? 3 That sounds more accurate. Α. 4 And to the extent that Dr. Ansolabehere is Ο. 5 no longer asserting that his prior figures are 6 accurate, because he lacked those records, would you 7 agree that your descriptions of his assertions are no longer accurate? 8 9 Α. No. 10 And why is that? Ο. 11 The criticisms and -- that I make, many of Α. 12 them are about the conceptual analysis, which has 13 not changed. 14 I apologize. My question was Ο. 15 insufficiently precise. 16 Would you agree that every paragraph 17 in your report in which you assert that 18 Dr. Ansolabehere found a specific number of matches 19 based upon the data that did not include 3.1 million 20 additional DPS records, that the numbers in your 21 report are no longer accurate because they no longer 22 reflect claims currently made by Dr. Ansolabehere 23 after receiving the complete DPS data? 24 So if I understand you correctly, it's my Α.

quoting specific numbers out of Dr. Ansolabehere

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196 his .

which were accurate, but given that he's changed his numbers, would now be different, is your concern.

- O. That's correct.
- A. I have not gone through every paragraph to check that. We could do so.
- Q. Would you agree that all of the figures in your report reflect the pre -- reflect the numbers contained in Dr. Ansolabehere's reports prior to his receipt of the additional 3.1 million records?
 - A. That would have been the intention, yes.
- Q. And so any figure that you include in your report that is derived from Dr. Ansolabehere's prior reports no longer reflects Dr. Ansolabehere's current analysis. Is that correct?
 - A. This has not been updated, given any corrected or supplemental reports.
 - Q. But you had the data from Dr. Ansolabehere prior to the publication of his updated report that you could have used to produce updated numbers in your own report. Isn't that right?
 - A. I don't believe I said that.
 - Q. You're saying that you did not receive additional data from -- that Dr. Ansolabehere produced prior to producing your August 15th report?
 - A. I don't believe I said that either.

```
197
              Those were two sides of the same coin.
1
         0.
2
         Α.
              And you're demanding --
3
              I'm demanding --
         O.
4
         Α.
              -- an affirmative answer.
5
              Yes. One or the other.
         Q.
              And to the spirit of your question --
6
         Α.
7
         Ο.
              Thank you.
              There has been a dump of documents from
8
         Α.
9
   the other experts. In my report I have not done
10
   original data analysis of those database and so I
11
   have not used or done the analysis that you're
12
   describing. I can't tell you with certainty when
13
   they were dumped.
14
              Okay. Are you aware of Dr. Ansolabehere's
         Ο.
15
   final no-match estimate?
16
              The exact number?
         Α.
17
              I'm not going to ask you to repeat it.
         Q.
18
   I'm just asking whether you have seen it.
              I have looked at his most recent report.
19
         Α.
20
              Does your report contain any opinions
         Q.
21
   regarding the size or plausibility of
22
   Dr. Ansolabehere's final no-match estimate?
23
              In terms that the methods that he uses are
         Α.
24
   similar, yes.
25
              Does your report contain any opinions
         Q.
```

```
198
1
   regarding the size or plausibility of
2
   Dr. Ansolabehere's final no-match estimate?
3
                                 Objection; form.
                   MR. KEISTER:
                                                    Asked
4
   and answered.
5
              As I've stated, the specific numbers may
         Α.
6
   change, but to the extent the methods are similar
7
   and what I identify in my report are criticisms of
   methods and interpretations, those would still
8
9
   stand.
10
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) But does your report
         Ο.
11
   contain any opinions regarding the plausibility of
   the raw number of Dr. Ansolabehere's final no-match
12
13
   estimate?
14
              Is there a section that you're referring
         Α.
15
   to specifically?
16
              I'm asking whether the entirety of your
17
   report contains any opinions regarding the
   plausibility of the final number of estimated
18
19
   no-matches that Dr. Ansolabehere found to exist in
20
   Texas's voter registration database.
21
                                 Objection; form.
                   MR. KEISTER:
                                                    It's
   been asked and answered twice.
22
23
                   MR. FREEMAN: It's been asked.
                                                    Ιt
24
   hasn't been answered.
```

MR. KEISTER: It's been answered.

in your question.

You don't like the answer but he answered it. He said he's -- the methods he's criticizing, and you asked the plausibility of it. He's answered it.

Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) My question is not about the methods. It's about the number. I'm asking you to answer the question that I'm asking rather than the question that you'd like me to ask.

My question is: Does your report, in

any point, contain any opinion regarding the plausibility of the number, just the number -- not how he got there, but the number of no-matches that Dr. Ansolabehere finds to exist based on his analysis of Texas's voter registration database?

MR. KEISTER: Objection; form. It's been asked and answered. You're putting plausibility in there and thus creating a vagueness

But the question has been asked and answered twice, and I'll object to the side-bar comments. But to the extent you can --

- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) You may answer.
- A. First of all, you're using the word "any" and "anywhere." And to be completely sure, I would need to look through to see, for example, if I relied on the size of the specific number when

7

8

- comparing it to, say, other estimates and other expert reports.
- But you also used the word

 "plausibility," which has to be related to the

 methods by which the number is estimated.
 - Q. So you didn't change any of the numbers in your report from your August 1st report to the August 15th report. Is that correct?
- 9 A. I believe we have already gone over the 10 minor editing changes that were made between the two 11 reports.
- Q. Was that at all responsive to the question that I just asked?
- 14 A. Yes --
- MR. KEISTER: Objection; side-bar.
- Yes, Counsel, it was. He hasn't produced another report after Dr. Ansolabehere did his report.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) Does your report provide any new numbers as to the results of
- 20 Dr. Ansolabehere's matching process? Yes or no?
- A. I have not updated the report in reliance on his supplemental or corrected report.
- Q. Do you identify any specific steps that you believe Dr. Ansolabehere should have taken in his database-matching process that he did not take?

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

201

1 Α. Well, I think one step that's identified, 2 as Dr. Ansolabehere has emphasized in his own 3 research, the importance of cleaning the registration database before attempting any 4 5 matching. And he's used the Catalist data to do 6 that. 7 One of the points I made in my report is that he doesn't attempt to do that until about --8 9 I don't have his report in front of me. 10 somewhere around page 40 of his analysis. 11 So he conducts the great bulk of his 12 analysis using methods that he has very strongly criticized in his own scholarly research. 13 So that 14 would be one specific step that I am critical of. 15 I believe the nature of other

I believe the nature of other criticisms have to do with the extent of being forthcoming about the potential errors or biases in the numbers that are derived.

MR. FREEMAN: Not my question, so I'm going to object.

- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) And I'm going to ask again: Do you identify any specific steps that you believe Dr. Ansolabehere should have taken in his database-matching process but did not take?
 - A. I believe I've answered that question so I

- 1 | don't think I'm understanding your question.
- 2 O. You identified a step that
- 3 Dr. Ansolabehere did take, but did not take until
- 4 | you believe, it's your opinion, too late in the
- 5 report. Correct?
- A. Well, he conducts a great deal of analysis
- 7 | without taking that step.
- Q. Is it your belief that he conducted no
- 9 database cleaning to remove deceased individuals
- 10 prior to conducting the bulk of his analysis?
- 11 A. That's not what I said.
- 12 Q. I'm asking, is that your belief?
- 13 A. I believe, from his report, he describes a
- 14 number of steps regarding cleaning that he did later
- 15 as part of the sensitivity analysis.
- And I don't believe, from his
- 17 reports, that he conducted those same steps prior to
- 18 | the initial no-match list.
- 19 Q. So it's your understanding that prior to
- 20 the initial no-match list, he did not conduct any
- 21 steps to remove any deceased individuals on the team
- 22 database. Is that correct?
- A. That's not what I said.
- Q. Is it your understanding that
- 25 Dr. Ansolabehere removed -- took steps to remove

```
203
    deceased individuals who might be on the team
 1
 2
    database, prior to conducting his initial no-match
 3
    list?
 4
         Α.
              I know that there were multiple different
 5
    versions of no-match lists created, and to be
 6
    completely sure, would need to look back at them.
 7
                   What I referenced was the extent and
    number and thoroughness with which one might do that
 8
 9
    kind of cleaning, comparing his scholarly work to
10
    what he did in this report.
11
        Q.
             But you would agree, first off, that
12
   Dr. Ansolabehere did take extensive steps to remove
   deceased individuals from the team database prior to
13
14
    conducting any matching exercise. Is that correct?
15
   Prior to producing his initial no-match count. Is
16
   that correct?
17
             You're using the word "extensive," which
18
    seems value laden. That's different than saying
19
    there may have been some steps. And that's
20
    different from saying, taking all the steps that
21
   might have reasonably been done.
22
         Ο.
              Well, I'm asking if -- that was my
23
    question.
               I'm asking you to answer that question.
24
                   Did he take extensive steps to remove
25
    likely deceased individuals from the team database
```

- prior to producing his initial no-match count?
- A. Given his report, it's clear that he
- 3 didn't take all the steps that he might have done.
- 4 | Given his scholarship, it's clear that he didn't
- 5 take all the steps that he might have done. And
- 6 given, the results are dramatically different from
- one section of the report to the other, it seems
- 8 | that the cleaning was insufficient to --
- 9 MR. FREEMAN: Objection;
- 10 | nonresponsive.
- 11 Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) My question is whether
- 12 he took extensive steps to remove deceased
- 13 | individuals from the team database prior to
- 14 producing his initial no-match count?
- MR. KEISTER: Object to form. Asked
- 16 and answered.
- 17 A. You seem to be placing weight on the word
- 18 | "extensive" and you're not liking how I'm
- 19 interpreting that word. Do you want to give me a
- 20 definition?
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) If you don't like the
- 22 word extensive, you can say no. That's fine. But
- 23 | please answer my question. If you think no, then
- 24 say no.
- A. I prefer to use what I think is a more

205 1 accurate word. 2 So please. Ο. 3 I don't believe that he took sufficient Α. 4 steps in doing the initial no-match list. 5 Would you agree that he took some steps to Q. 6 remove deceased individuals from the team database 7 prior to producing his initial no-match estimate? 8 I don't recall all of the steps. My A. 9 impression is that there were some steps taken. And you would agree that the additional 10 **O**. 11 steps that you suggest he might have taken, he did 12 take during his sensitivity analysis. Is that 13 correct? 14 There are some additional steps that he **A**. 15 might have taken that he did take in the sensitivity 16 analysis. Does your report identify any additional, 17 Ο. 18 specific steps that you believe Dr. Ansolabehere 19 should have taken at any point in his 20 database-matching process, but never took? 21 Α. Well, let me refresh my recollection. 22 I believe the opinions in the report 23 are contained to the actions actually taken. 24 think I -- well, I'm going to need a moment to find 25 the relevant sections.

```
206
 1
                   MR. FREEMAN: That's fine.
                                               We can go
 2
    off the record.
 3
                   (Recess.)
4
        O.
             (BY MR. FREEMAN) Now that you've had the
5
    opportunity to review the report, can you identify
6
    any specific steps that Dr. Ansolabehere should have
   taken in his database-matching process, but never
7
8
   took at any point in his report?
9
        Α.
             I believe that the criticisms of the
10
   database matching are more in the spirit of being
11
   forthcoming about weakness -- weaknesses in the
12
   method or the interpretation of the result.
13
                   The only thing that I recollected
14
    that I was looking for here that might speak to your
15
    question is that Ansolabehere would have had an
16
    opportunity to further check the veracity of the
17
   non-matches by using the Catalist data to -- the
18
   updated Catalist data to see whether supposed
19
   non-matches had actually voted since the passage of
20
            That's mentioned in Paragraph 154.
    SB 14.
21
             But any subsequent Catalist data would not
        0.
22
   reflect the snapshot of who had voter -- or who had
23
   SB 14 ID on the date in question when the relevant
24
   data was pulled from the databases. Is that
25
    correct? It might show individuals who obtained
```

```
207
 1
    SB 14 ID after the date of the relevant snapshot.
2
    Correct?
3
             I suppose it depends which election we are
        Α.
4
    looking at that they report voting in.
5
             Any election subsequent to the snapshot.
         Q.
6
         A.
              But I believe there would also be
7
    elections prior, so we could have a way to identify
8
    a problem with potential non-matches. That would
9
    also potentially be the case with non-matches who
   report voting afterward. We don't know the reason
10
11
   that those supposed non-matches voted.
12
             I would appreciate if you would answer the
        0.
13
    question that I asked. And the question that I
14
    asked was, elections subsequent to the snapshot
15
    would not indicate if a person had ID on the date of
16
    the snapshot because they could have obtained ID
17
    afterwards. Isn't that correct?
18
             There would be uncertainty as to whether
        Α.
19
   the individual had ID on the date of the snapshot --
20
             Thank you.
        0.
21
             -- for elections subsequent, after the
         A.
22
    snapshot.
23
              Does your report identify any additional
         Ο.
24
    data cleanup or preparation steps that
25
    Dr. Ansolabehere should have taken, but did not?
```

208 1 Α. Yes. 2 And what are those? Ο. 3 Α. Well, I believe another set of criticisms 4 has to do with the classification of race and 5 ethnicity. 6 Are those data cleanup or preparation 7 steps prior to the match? 8 Oh, I'm sorry, you asked prior to the Α. 9 match? 10 Data cleanup or preparation steps. That's Ο. 11 what data cleanup and preparation steps are in a 12 database-matching process. 13 Are you familiar with the terminology 14 used in database matching? 15 In an analysis, preparation can mean any Α. number of things, so I'm sorry. I was thinking more 16 17 broadly of his analysis. 18 That's fine. My question is, does your 0. 19 report identify any data cleanup or preparation 20 steps that Dr. Ansolabehere should have taken prior 21 to running his matching combinations, but did not? 22 A. Other than the concerns that have been 23 mentioned, I did not suggest specific steps to be 24 taken. 25 And does your report provide any Q.

- 1 additional matching combinations that
- 2 Dr. Ansolabehere should have used, but did not use?
- A. Broadly speaking, the only one of those
- 4 | would be what I just mentioned, matching two
- 5 | individuals who we have evidence have voted.
- And you'll have to forgive me, I
- 7 | would have to look through the report to find it
- 8 exactly. I recall a question about whether
- 9 Ansolabehere had looked to see if -- using the
- 10 | Catalist data, if individuals had reported voting or
- 11 being registered in other states. I don't recall
- 12 | specifically where it is in the report or even if
- 13 | it's in the report, but I get the sense that no one
- 14 wants me to take a look through.
- Q. Dr. Milyo, do you know what a matching
- 16 | combination is?
- 17 A. They are the paradigms by which the
- 18 | databases are matched.
- 19 Q. They're the combinations of fields by
- 20 | which databases are matched?
- 21 A. And I was talking about matching to
- 22 another database to clean the database before the
- 23 | analysis.
- Q. So that was not, in fact, responsive to my
- 25 | question. Correct?

```
210
 1
                   MR. KEISTER: Object to form.
 2
    Argumentative.
 3
              I don't remember.
         Α.
 4
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) My question was: Does
         0.
5
   your report provide any additional matching
6
    combinations, combinations of fields that
7
   Dr. Ansolabehere should have used, but did not?
8
              I do not identify specific fields that
        A.
9
    should have been used.
10
              Does your report contain any critique of
        0.
11
    the use of one-to-many matching?
12
              I do not include any critique of
13
    one-to-many matching.
14
              Would you agree that one of the principle
         Ο.
15
    findings of Dr. Ansolabehere's report is the
16
    existence of a racial disparity in SB 14 ID
17
    possession?
              I believe that is a characterization of
18
         Α.
19
    his findings.
20
              Would you agree that for every universe of
         O.
21
    registered voters analyzed by Dr. Ansolabehere,
22
    including the universe of registered voters that you
23
    describe as his hidden finding, that a disparity in
24
    ID possession exists between Anglo voters and
    African-American voters, and between Anglo voters
25
```

- and Hispanic voters?
- A. For the reasons that I've laid out in my report, I have concerns about that interpretation.
- Q. Would you agree that for every universe of
- 5 registered voters analyzed by Dr. Ansolabehere,
- 6 including the universe of registered voters that you
- 7 believe he should have focused on primarily, that
- 8 Dr. Ansolabehere found a disparity in ID possession
- 9 based on race?
- A. Again, for reasons that I've mentioned in
- 11 my report, I have concerns about -- if your question
- 12 is, what does he claim he finds, then I believe
- 13 that's accurate.
- Q. Would you agree that for every method of
- 15 estimating the race of voters employed by
- 16 Dr. Ansolabehere, with regard to the universe of
- 17 voters that you believe is the proper universe of
- 18 voters, the racial disparity in ID possession
- 19 persists?
- 20 A. I don't believe that I made a claim about
- 21 what is the proper universe of voters.
- 22 O. You claimed that Dr. Ansolabehere should
- 23 have taken the steps that led him to what you called
- 24 the hidden finding, the total number, that reduced
- 25 total number. Correct?

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- A. I believe what I said is that there's -given his own scholarship, that he has been very
 critical of matching processes that don't attempt to
 clean -- preclean the data more aggressively than it
 appears he did for the bulk of his analysis.
- So I'm not saying that that's the proper method, but that would be an improvement.
- Q. And are there further improvements that you identify in your report that should have been made beyond what he made to get to that last number, but did not do?
 - A. Which last number?
 - Q. What you call his hidden finding.
- A. Well, are we talking about the aggregate number of persons that he claims do not have SB 14 ID or by race?
- Q. First, the aggregate number. Are there -based on the aggregate number -- let's get to the
 aggregate number.
 - You would agree that there are no additional slices or dices that you can identify past that aggregate number that he should have done, but didn't do. Correct?
- A. I don't believe I state that in the report.

- Q. You don't believe that you state that there are no additional steps that he should have done, but didn't do?
- A. Now, there's too many nos there. It's hard for me to follow that.
- Q. Would you agree that for the universe of voters that you describe as the hidden finding, that there is a disparity in ID possession within that universe of voters, based on race?
- 10 A. So now --
 - Q. Based on the analysis performed by Dr. Ansolabehere?
 - A. So you've changed the question now to be about the differences by races and ethnicity. So we are not talking about the aggregate number?
 - Q. We are talking about the disparity.
 - A. So I've raised a number of concerns about the racial classifications, and so the interpretation of those numbers, I believe I do identify additional methods that should have been explored in that analysis.
 - Q. Are you aware of the current list
 maintenance practices of the Texas Secretary of
 State with regard to the Texas voter registration
- 25 file?

```
214
1
        A.
             Other than something about some missing
    3 million observations, no.
2
 3
             Did you ask anyone to provide you with
        0.
 4
    information regarding the current list maintenance
5
   practices of the Texas Secretary of State with
6
   regard to the Texas voter registration file?
7
        A.
             No.
 8
             If you could turn to Paragraph 27 of your
        Q.
9
    report. You point to particular anomalies in
10
    Texas's voter registration data, discussing a 2012
11
    article by Dr. Ansolabehere. Correct?
12
             That looks to be correct.
        A.
13
             And that 2012 article was based on 2010
        Q.
14
   data. Correct?
15
              Well, they were obtained by Catalist in
        A.
16
   2010.
17
             And did you ask anyone to provide you with
        O.
18
    information regarding changes in list maintenance
19
   practices since 2010?
20
             No, I have not.
        A.
21
             Does Texas attempt to remove deceased
        0.
22
    individuals from its voter registration list?
23
             I don't know for a fact. I would assume
        A.
24
   so.
25
        Q.
             How does Texas attempt to remove deceased
```

```
215
1
   individuals from its voter registration list?
2
         A.
             I do not know.
3
             How often does the Texas Bureau of Vital
         0.
 4
    Statistics submit a list of deceased individuals to
5
   the office of the Secretary of State to facilitate
6
   the removal of deceased individuals from the Texas
   voter registration list?
7
8
             I do not know.
        A.
9
             Does Texas engage in database matching in
         0.
10
    order to identify voters who are also on the list of
11
    deceased individuals provided by the Bureau of Vital
12
    Statistics?
13
        A.
             I don't know for a fact.
14
              Are you aware of whether or not Texas
         0.
15
    matches its voter rolls to the Social Security death
16
   master file?
17
             I do not know.
        Α.
18
             Do you know how many times a year Texas
        0.
19
    engages in that match?
20
             I do not know.
        Α.
21
             Do you know how long Texas has used the
         0.
22
    Social Security death master file for removing
23
   deceased individuals from its voter rolls?
24
             I do not know.
        A.
25
         Q.
              Would you agree that the more often the
```

```
216
1
   office of the Texas Secretary of State matches voter
2
   rolls to lists of deceased individuals, the less
3
   deadwood there will be on the rolls?
4
         Α.
              All else constant?
5
              All else constant.
         Ο.
6
         Α.
              Assuming no errors going the other
7
   direction?
8
              Would you agree, all else constant, that
         Q.
   the more often that the office of the Texas
9
   Secretary of State matches its voter rolls to lists
10
11
   of deceased individuals and removes the individuals
12
   who were found to be on those lists, the less
   deadwood there will be on the rolls?
13
              That's not something that I've spoken to
14
         Α.
15
    in my report.
16
              Would you agree, as a social scientist,
         0.
17
   that that is a correct and accurate statement?
18
              It sounds plausible.
         Α.
19
              Sounds correct and accurate?
         Q.
20
              I said it sounds plausible.
         Α.
21
              I'm asking if it's correct and accurate?
         Ο.
22
              I like the word plausible better.
         Α.
23
              I like my question.
         Q.
24
                   MR. KEISTER: Object to form.
25
   Argumentative. And this is outside the expert's
```

```
217
 1
    report and what he's designated for. But to the
 2
    extent that you want to try and answer it, then go
 3
    ahead.
 4
              I'm not comfortable making definitive
         Α.
 5
    answers that go beyond my report, which is the
 6
    reason for my caution.
7
        (BY MR. FREEMAN) If you could turn to
8
   Paragraph 44 of your report. You assert that
9
   Dr. Ansolabehere has noted in prior research that
10
   Catalist may not be able to identify a large number
11
   of actual dead voters. Correct?
12
             Is there a line within 44? That's a long
        A.
13
   paragraph.
14
             Lines 3 through 4, does this state, "In
        0.
15
   one recent study, Ansolabehere speculates that
16
   Catalist may not be able to identify a large number
17
   of actual dead voters on State registration rolls."
18
   Is that correct?
19
             That looks like a verbatim statement of
        A.
20
   what I've written.
21
             But Dr. Ansolabehere didn't use the word
        Q.
22
   "large." That was your editorialization. Correct?
23
             I would have to look back at his actual
        A.
24
   statement.
25
                   MR. FREEMAN: If we could go off the
```

```
218
 1
    record for just one second.
 2
                   (Discussion off the record.)
 3
             (BY MR. FREEMAN) Back on the record.
        O.
                   Take a look at that article. Would
 4
5
   you agree that Dr. Ansolabehere didn't use the word
6
    "large" to describe the number of actual dead
7
   voters?
8
             I can't view the entire document here, so
        A.
9
    I don't recall specifically if there's other
10
   mentions. In the snippet that you're using, he uses
11
   the word "a number."
12
             And actual dead voters, that's within
        O.
13
    quotes of Paragraph 44 of your report, but the rest
14
   is not. Correct?
15
              And that looks like it should have just
        A.
16
   been actual dead, in quotes. So a typo there.
17
             And in the same report, Dr. Ansolabehere
18
    states, As an alternative to there being dead
19
   numbers on the rolls, maybe doing a good job at
20
   identifying and purging deceased voters. Is that
21
    correct?
22
        A.
             I'd like to see the claim that you're
23
   referring to.
24
             It is directly in front of you, sir.
        Q.
25
        A.
              Do you have an idea what page number to
```

```
219
1
   look at?
              I believe it is on the page that is
 2
         0.
 3
    currently on the screen.
 4
              I can't get it to move.
         Α.
 5
              It is the paragraph that is currently on
         0.
 6
    the screen directly in front of you.
 7
              Well, now you've got a box that popped up
    in the front here.
 8
9
              I will hold it so that you don't change
10
    anything on the screen.
11
                   Would you agree that it says, as an
12
    alternative, that the states may be doing a good job
13
    at identifying and purging deceased voters?
14
                   MR. KEISTER: Counsel, please give
   him time to review the article.
15
16
             My interest was in refreshing my memory
         A.
17
    about the article. There may be other places where
18
   there's a discussion.
19
                   I can't get to the bottom. Your page
20
    down doesn't -- or page -- oh, down. There we go.
21
                   So is your question just about that
22
    paragraph that you're showing me?
23
             (BY MR. FREEMAN) My question is just
         Q.
24
    about that paragraph.
25
        A.
              So which paragraph was that? I've been
```

```
220
1
   looking through here. What page are we on?
2
             (Indicating.)
        Q.
3
             So you've identified a partial paragraph
        Α.
4
   here. And I haven't had the time to review the
5
    entire document to refresh my memory on anything
6
    else they might say. Your hand is wavering.
7
                  I think you're asking about the
8
   sentence here that says, "This might be attributable
9
   to states doing a good job at identifying and
10
   purging deceased voters, or it may be that the
11
    Catalist deceased flag does not capture a number of
12
    actual dead registrants."
13
             And Dr. Ansolabehere does not definitively
        Q.
14
    state, one way or the other, whether it's states
15
    doing good jobs or whether it's that Catalist is
16
    capturing deceased individuals who are still on the
17
   voter rolls. Is that correct?
18
        A.
             This particular sentence leaves open both
19
   possibilities.
20
             And you didn't list the second possibility
        O.
   in your report, did you? The possibility that the
21
22
    states are doing a good job?
23
             A good job referring to the overall rate
24
    of deceased voters being lower than expected, given
25
    what we know about mortality rates. So he's
```

```
221
1
   identifying a problem in this data and speculating
2
    as to multiple causes.
3
                  I believe what I said is that
4
   Catalist may not be able to identify a large number
5
    of actual dead voters, which is -- you object to the
6
   use of the word "large." We can omit that. A
7
   number of actual dead voters, which is accurate.
8
             And you did not state in your report that
        Q.
9
   it's a possibility other states are doing a good job
10
   of identifying and purging deceased voters.
11
   Correct?
12
             I don't believe that's a quote in my
        A.
13
   report.
14
             Do you know how often the office of the
        0.
15
    Texas Secretary of State receives information from
16
   the Texas Department of Public Safety on individuals
17
   convicted of felonies?
18
        A.
             I do not.
             Do you know if the office of the Texas
19
        0.
20
    Secretary of State matches its voter rolls to that
21
   list, to a list of individuals who have been
22
    convicted of felonies?
23
             At this point in time, I don't have
        A.
24
   firsthand knowledge of that.
25
         Q.
              Do you know if the office of the Secretary
```

222 of State removes individuals from its voter rolls 1 2 due to ineligibility for conviction of a felony? 3 Off the top of my head, I can't tell. Α. 4 Would you agree that your report does not Q. 5 discuss any of the means by which the office of the 6 Texas Secretary of State removes deadwood from the 7 Texas voter rolls? 8 I don't recall specifically citing any of A. 9 those means. 10 Let's go to Paragraph 25 of your report. 0. 11 You estimate in Paragraph 25 of your report that up 12 to 24 percent of the team database may be deadwood. 13 Correct? 14 I believe Paragraph 25 starts, "For the Α. 15 sake of illustrating the potential magnitude of 16 deadwood in State voter rolls," et cetera. So I 17 wouldn't describe it as an estimate. It is an illustration. 18 19 Q. An illustration --20 Α. About potential magnitude. 21 You estimate that the potential magnitude Ο. 22 of deadwood in the team database is up to 24 23 percent? 24 I believe the context here gives other Α.

concerns that may raise that number. And so this

- was just for the sake of illustration, using one particular source of error.
- Q. And so is your actual opinion that the quantity of deadwood is more than 24 percent or somewhere between zero and 24 percent?
- A. Again, in the discussion here which continues, what I'm identifying are potential sources of problems. I have not estimated a specific number of deadwood.
- Q. In fact, in Paragraph 25 of your report, you state, "Combining these overreporting percentages in the study cited above, that implies that about 24 percent of registered voters in Texas may be deadwood." Is that correct?
 - A. And it's in the context of this illustrative point using only that particular criticism. The report goes on to mention a number of other potential sources of problems.
- Q. So then it may be more than 24 percent. Is that what you're saying?
 - A. Could be more than 24 percent.
- Q. Okay. Does your report estimate the share of deadwood that is on the no-match list versus not on the no-match list?
- A. Is there a specific section of the report

```
224
 1
    that you're referring to?
 2
              I'm asking about the entirety of the
         Ο.
 3
    report.
 4
              Well, then, I have to -- it's late in the
         Α.
 5
    day and we've been at this a long time. I have to
 6
    think about...
 7
                                  Then let's go off the
                   MR. FREEMAN:
 8
    record.
 9
                   MR. KEISTER:
                                 Do you want to take a
    break?
10
11
                   THE WITNESS: I need to hear the
12
    question again.
13
             (BY MR. FREEMAN) Does your report
         Q.
14
    estimate the share of deadwood that is on the
15
    no-match list versus not on the no-match list?
16
              I don't recall making such an estimate.
         A.
17
              Does your report estimate the share of the
         0.
18
    deadwood by race?
19
              No. I don't believe I make such an
         Α.
20
    estimate.
21
              Let's very quickly walk through how you
         0.
22
    arrive at that 24 percent estimate.
23
                   First, am I correct that you looked
24
    at an estimate by Professor Michael McDonald
25
    comparing actual registration figures with
```

```
225
 1
    self-reported registration percentages? Am I right?
 2
              Are we talking about the illustrative
 3
   potential magnitude example?
 4
         0.
              Yes.
 5
              And so what is your question?
         Α.
 6
        0.
             The first step that you took to arrive at
   that 24 percent figure was to look at an estimate by
7
8
   Professor Michael McDonald, comparing actual
9
   registration percentages with self-reported
10
   registration percentages. Am I right?
11
             Well, I'd have to refresh my recollection
        A.
12
   on the development of this.
13
                   I believe that's correct.
14
              And was Professor McDonald's study
         Ο.
15
   nationwide?
16
             You know, I'd have to look back at it to
         Α.
17
   verify.
             It's been a while since I've looked at that
18
    one.
19
             Sitting here today, you don't know whether
        Q.
20
   the study was nationwide or limited to Texas?
21
             I don't believe it was limited to Texas.
        A.
22
             What is your basis to apply this figure to
        Q.
23
   Texas?
24
             Is it being applied to Texas?
        A.
25
        Q.
             You're applying this figure to the -- an
```

```
226
1
    estimate of the amount of deadwood on Texas's voter
    rolls. Correct?
2
3
              I wouldn't characterize it as an estimate.
         Α.
 4
    I'd characterize it as I have characterized it: for
5
    the sake of illustrating potential magnitude of
6
    deadwood in State voter rolls. It's just a simple
7
    illustrative point to demonstrate that these are
8
    nontrivial problems potentially.
 9
              So this illustration is not an estimate of
         0.
10
    the amount of deadwood that's on Texas's voter
11
    rolls. Is that correct?
12
              It's clearly not an attempt to estimate
    the amount of deadwood on Texas voter rolls, but
13
14
    rather to illustrate the potential magnitude of the
15
    problem that comes about from these kinds of issues.
16
              That's fine.
         Ο.
17
                   Would you agree that Professor
18
    McDonald's figure is derived from a survey?
19
              So I'm not recalling the specific details
         Α.
20
    of the study. From the description here, there's a
21
    reference to the current population survey, yes.
22
              Do you present a margin of error for that
         Ο.
23
    survey figure?
24
              For which survey figure?
         Α.
25
         Q.
              The figure that you rely upon in your
```

25

227 1 report. I don't have a margin of error written for 2 Α. 3 the 72.9 percent of CVAP. 4 And why not? O. 5 Because it's not relevant for the Α. 6 illustrative exercise that I'm conducting. 7 The second step in arriving at your illustrative percentage is to look at an estimate by 8 9 Bernstein, et al., that compared self-reported turnout in Texas to actual turnout. Am I correct? 10 11 I'm not guite sure that you're Α. 12 representing that accurately. 13 How would you represent it? Ο. 14 As I've written it here. So this is Α. 15 overreporting of registration in the CPS, combined 16 with overreporting of voter turnout. 17 So you find that a study by Bernstein, et 18 al., found that self-reported turnout in the CPS 19 exceeds actual turnout in Texas by more than 14 20 percentage points. Correct? 21 I believe that that's cited above, yes. Α. 22 And you simply assume that a similar rate Ο. 23 of overreporting applies to voter registration

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For the sake of illustrating potential the

rather than turnout. Correct?

Α.

228 1 magnitude, yes. Is there any data on which to base the 2 3 assumption that you make that the rate of 4 overreporting of turnout is approximately the same 5 as the rate of overreporting of registration? 6 Not that I've cited in my report. 7 Do you know the share of the Texas voter 8 registration database that consists of voters in 9 suspense status? Not off the top of my head. 10 11 Do you agree that analyzing only active Ο. 12 voters, without suspense voters, would take into account some of the deadwood issues that you 13 14 identify? Some of the issues identified. Not all of 15 Α. 16 the issues identified. 17 And would you agree that Dr. Ansolabehere 18 analyzed whether a disparity in SB 14 ID possession 19 exists between racial groups in the universe of 20 active voters only? 21 Are you referring to a specific table in Α. 22 the Ansolabehere report? 23 Did you read Dr. Ansolabehere's report? Q. 24 Oh, there's a whole bunch of tables. Α. And 25 then they have As and Bs and 1s, so that's --

- Q. Do you recall whether Dr. Ansolabehere analyzed whether there's a racial disparity in ID possession within the universe of active voters only?
- A. There are a number of different permutations. It's possible he looked at that one. I would have to -- to be sure, look back at the tables in Ansolabehere's report.
- Q. So sitting here today, you are not sufficiently familiar with Dr. Ansolabehere's report in order to be able to opine on precisely what universes of voters he examined in order to validate whether or not an ID disparity persists between racial groups?

MR. KEISTER: Objection; form.
Argumentative.

- A. As I've stated, it's late in the day. There are many expert reports and many tables in the Ansolabehere report. You're asking about a specific result, refusing to show me the relevant table that you're referring to. I'm not completely confident. There are many permutations that he looks at.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) I intended to show it to you and here it is.

MR. FREEMAN: If we can mark this as

```
230
 1
    Exhibit 13.
 2
                    (Exhibit Number 13 marked.)
 3
                                                  If you
         Ο.
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) There you are.
 4
    could take a look.
 5
              Could you refresh my memory on what
 6
    exactly you were asking about?
 7
              Active voters only.
         Ο.
 8
         Α.
              So you want to see match with no suspense
 9
    voters?
10
              Does the racial disparity persist in the
         0.
11
    universe of active voters only?
12
              According to his finding?
         Α.
13
         Q.
              Yes.
14
                   MR. KEISTER: Do you want to take a
15
    break?
16
                    (Recess.)
17
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) Would you agree that
18
    analyzing only active voters, without suspense
19
    voters, a disparity in ID -- SB 14 ID possession
20
    persisted between racial groups in that universe?
21
              I believe you're referring to the
         Α.
22
    specification on page 99 in Table 7.1.B --
23
              I'll take your word for it.
         O.
24
              -- Column 2?
         A.
25
         Q.
              Yes.
```

231 1 Α. And Ansolabehere reports finding a 2 disparity across racial categories for that column. 3 And excluding suspense voters, as well as 0. 4 Catalist flagged records and individuals who are 5 matched to expired IDs, the racial disparity in ID 6 possession still persists. Is that correct? 7 Ansolabehere reports finding a racial A. 8 disparity in Column 4 of Table 7.1.B. 9 Ο. Thank you. Before we move on, previously you had asked at the beginning of my portion of the 10 11 deposition to see copies of the particular 12 declarations before you were able to let me know if 13 you had read the entirety of each report. I now 14 have gathered those together and so I'd just like to 15 go through that very quickly. 16 First, the declaration of Steve 17 Ansolabehere. That is the revised declaration you 18 have there. But the initial report, did you read 19 the entirety of that report, including all 20 appendices, prior to -- prior to submitting your 21 declaration in this case? 22 Certainly not many of the appendicis. Α. 23 Would you say that you read 50 percent of Q. 24 the report, including appendices? 25 Α. I couldn't tell you offhand.

232 Approximately how many hours did you spend 1 Ο. 2 reviewing just that report? 3 I can't really tell you off the top of my Α. 4 head. 5 Four hours? Q. 6 Α. I still can't tell you off the top of my 7 head. 8 More than four hours? Q. 9 It's not something I kept track of for Α. 10 particular reports, how much time. So... 11 And with regard to the declaration of Ο. Dr. Barry Burden, did you read the entirety of 12 Dr. Burden's report, including all appendices? 13 14 Again, not including all of the Α. 15 appendices. 16 Did you read the entirety of the report, Ο. 17 excluding appendices? 18 I believe so. Α. 19 Did you read the entirety of Ο. 20 Dr. Ansolabehere's report, but excluding the 21 appendices? 22 Are the tables in the appendicis? Α. 23 I believe some are and some are not. Q. 24 I can't say that I've read every single Α. 25 word of every single table, but I believe I've read

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

19

- 1 through the entire report.
- Q. So you've read the report, but not all the tables. Is that correct?
 - A. What I said was not every word in every single table. Some of them are more relevant to my reactions and some of them less relevant.
 - Q. And how did you determine what was less relevant without reading it?
 - A. I didn't say I didn't read it at all. I said I didn't read every word in every table. Some of the tables have many words. Some of them are very tiny at the bottom.
 - Q. Okay. Did you read the entirety of the declaration of Professor Chandler Davidson?
 - A. Not including the appendices.
- Q. Excluding Professor Davidson's curriculum vitae, did you read the entirety of Dr. Davidson's report?
 - A. I believe I did.
- Q. Did you read the entirety of the declaration of Dr. Gerald Webster?
- A. I believe I have looked through the
 entirety of this report. There's a lot of end
 notes -- sorry. I believe I've looked through the
 entirety of this report.

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

20

- Q. What do you mean by "looked through"?
- A. I believe my eyes have been on every page.
 - Q. Have your eyes crossed every word?
 - A. Well, there's these busy diagrams here, and I can't say that I have examined them with great detail in terms of all the little shaded areas, so that would be the main concern I have about answering your question about having read the entire document.
 - Q. Have you read all of the words and merely glanced at the maps, or no?
 - A. For this particular report, I'm less confident that I've read every single word on every single page.
 - Q. Okay. So you're not able to testify today, under oath, that you read every word of every page, is that correct, on Dr. Webster's report?
- MR. KEISTER: Objection; asked and answered.
 - A. I think that's what I just said.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) Okay. With regard to the declaration of Mr. Yair Ghitza, have you read the entirety of that declaration, prior to producing your first report?
- A. I believe I did, yes.

235 1 Ο. And with regard to the declaration of Dr. Jane Henrici, did you read the entirety of that 2 3 declaration prior to producing your report, 4 excluding the CV? 5 I believe I did read this report. Α. 6 Thank you. Let's turn to Paragraph 98 of 0. 7 your report. At the end of Paragraph 98, you write 8 that, "Minorities may be more likely to move without 9 submitting a formal change of address to the post 10 office." Correct? 11 That looks like a quote from the text. A. 12 Does your report contain any data or O. 13 method to support this point? 14 I believe it says, "For example." Α. 15 Would you agree that this is speculation? Q. 16 It says, "For example, it may happen." Α. 17 Would you agree that this is speculation? Q. 18 And the reason this example is here is to Α. 19 point out other concerns that may be problematic in 20 these analyses. 21 Is this a concern that has no basis in Ο. 22 data or methodology? 23 No, I wouldn't say that. Α. 24 What is your data or methodology on which Ο.

you base the concern that minorities may be more

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236
    likely to move without submitting a formal change of
 1
 2
    address to the post office?
 3
              Oh, that wasn't what you just asked. You
         Α.
 4
    asked if it has no basis. The basis would be, I
 5
    believe, Professor Ansolabehere has identified that
 6
    not everyone who moves submits a change of address,
 7
    and so that this is a concern in database-matching
 8
    technologies.
9
              Would you -- do you provide any basis for
10
    your example that minorities may be more likely to
11
    move without submitting a formal change of address?
12
             I believe it's in the context of an
13
   if/then statement.
14
              So there's no actual basis for you to
         0.
15
    opine that they may be more likely -- minorities may
16
    be more likely to move without submitting a formal
17
    change of address. Correct? That's just a
18
    possibility?
19
        A .
              It is a possibility.
20
              Does your report attempt to estimate the
         0.
21
    effect of any racial disparity in post office
22
    notification on the estimates of disparities in ID
23
    possession provided by Dr. Ansolabehere?
24
        A.
             I do not.
              Do you assess whether Dr. Ansolabehere's
25
         Q.
```

25

Α.

237 1 matching algorithm is capable of linking records 2 even when address elements do not match? 3 A. I have not assessed that. 4 If you could turn to page 25 of O. 5 Dr. Ansolabehere's report, which is Exhibit 13. 6 Would you agree that several matching 7 combinations contained in table 5.1 on page 25 do 8 not include any address element? 9 Α. Are you considering a zip an address? 10 O. Sure. 11 Α. There are some, yes. 12 So would you agree that even if an Q. 13 individual does not report a move within Texas, 14 Dr. Ansolabehere's algorithm is capable of matching 15 a voter registration record to a form of ID obtained at a prior address? 16 17 I don't believe the claim is that no one 18 who moves can be matched but, rather, people who 19 move might be missed. 20 But if there are methods to capture people O. 21 who move by matching them without an address 22 element, is the fact that they have moved any basis 23 to believe that they would not be matched?

comparing the results from the Catalist data to the

I believe there's evidence of that in

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- original no-match list, that there's additional identifications -- or additional observations that are flagged in the Catalist data. But I would have to spend more time with the report to review that specifically.
 - Q. Are you thinking of individuals who are simply removed from the analysis because there's an NCOA flag on their record?
 - A. That's my -- what I'm referring to in the Catalist data.
 - Q. Removing individuals from the universe of matches -- excuse me, from the universe of registered voters because they have an NCOA flag does not indicate that those individuals should or should not have been successfully matched, does it?
 - A. No. It suggests that since we're getting differences in data, that not everyone who has moved has been captured.
 - Perhaps I'm not understanding your question.
- Q. Do you have any opinion to that effect in your report?
 - A. I believe the only relevant reference would be to Ansolabehere's discussion that not everyone who moves is going to be captured in the

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239

- database-matching technologies.
- Q. Where in Dr. Ansolabehere's report does he state that the individuals who are -- who have NCOA flags are necessarily false no-matches as opposed to people who may or may not have moved out of Texas?
 - A. What are you asking? Where in his report have the --
 - Q. I'm trying to understand what you're opining on about NCOA --
 - A. To tell you the truth, I've gotten lost in the questions here, so I'm not quite sure, as I've said, that I understand your question.
- Q. Okay. Would you agree that even if an individual does not report a move within Texas,

 Dr. Ansolabehere's algorithm is capable of matching a voter registration record to a form of ID obtained
 - A. There could be a match.

at a prior address?

- Q. Let's go to Paragraph 104 of your report. You state that the number of non-matches for reasons other than a voter that lacks requisite ID may be correlated with minority race or Hispanic ethnicity. Correct?
- A. There's a -- that's a partial phrasing of a statement here.

25

240 1 0. Do you have any basis to believe that there's a correlation between individuals who are 2 3 false no-matches and race? No. It's being mentioned as a 4 A. 5 possibility. 6 Okay. Does your report provide any other Ο. 7 examples of potential racial biases in 8 Dr. Ansolabehere's analysis that could eliminate 9 racial disparities that Dr. Ansolabehere observes? 10 Α. Yes. 11 And what are those? Ο. 12 Well, I believe there are a number of things cited in the report. In particular is the 13 14 concern that the actual estimates, even in what I 15 refer to as the hidden finding, which is now --16 seems to be Table 7.1.B, that even these figures, 17 there's reason to believe that they're inflated. 18 In addition, in the report I raise a 19 specific concern about the Catalist categorization 20 by race and ethnicity. 21 My question -- let me just stop you there Ο. 22 because you're answering a different question from 23

what I intended to ask, which may have been that my question was unclear.

My question is, are there any other

241 1 examples in Dr. Ansolabehere's methodology, his 2 matching methodology, that could bias the potential 3 Not -- not increase the -- not results? 4 artificially increase the gross number of 5 non-matches, but bias the results on account of 6 race, that you identify in your report? 7 Oh, well, if the false non-matches are 8 correlated with race or ethnicity, then that would 9 lead to that potential. 10 Are there any bases that you articulate in O. 11 your report, other than what we've already 12 discussed, on which you could claim that the false non-matches are correlated with race, or is that 13 14 just a possibility? 15 I believe it's raised as a possibility in Α. 16 my report. 17 You state in your report that much 18 scholarly research eschews measures of turnout as a 19 percentage of registered voters. Correct? Do you 20 recall writing that? 21 I recall the word "eschew." Can you point Α. 22 to the paragraph? 23 Do you recall -- given that you remember 24 "eschew," do you remember opining that scholarly

research eschews turnout as a percentage of

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242
 1
    registered voters?
 2
              I'd like to see the context if you're
 3
    referring to a specific statement in the report.
 4
              Paragraph 22. Would you agree that that's
         O.
 5
    a statement within your opinion, within your report?
 6
         Α.
              I don't recall verbatim what you said, but
 7
    I see a sentence here that includes eschew.
 8
              Would you agree that you opined, "It is
         Q.
9
    for this reason that much of the scholarly research
10
    on voter turnout in the United States eschews
11
   measures of turnout as a percentage of registered
12
   voters."
             Correct?
13
              And the sentence keeps going.
         A.
14
         0.
              Yes.
15
              So you've read a verbatim snippet of a
         A.
16
    sentence.
17
              Would you agree that some political
         0.
18
    scientists have used turnout as a percentage of
19
    registered voters in peer-reviewed publications?
20
         A.
              Yes.
21
              Would you agree that it is an accepted
         Ο.
22
    measure of voter turnout in the discipline of
23
    political science?
24
              It depends on the context.
         Α.
25
         Q.
              Are you familiar with the work of
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- Professor Darren Shaw?
- 2 A. I know Professor Darren Shaw.
- Q. Would you agree that his work in peer-reviewed journals is generally within the accepted practice of political science?
 - A. If they are in peer-reviewed journals, then it would be tautological, I think, to say that it's whatever it was you said.
 - Q. Within the accepted practice of political science?
 - A. Well, you know, here is the thing.

 Different people will raise different criticisms,
 and just because a study is published doesn't mean
 it can't be criticized. So I'm not quite sure what
 you mean by within the accepted whatever it was that
 you said.
 - Q. Is it your understanding that the work of Darren Shaw, Professor Darren Shaw, is generally within the accepted practice of political science?
 - A. He has many publications.
 - Q. So you would say some are not?
- A. I didn't say that. I haven't examined his record in detail.
- Q. Are you familiar with his 2000 article,

 "Examining Latino Turnout in 1996," in the American

244 Journal of Political Science? 1 Off the top of my head -- we've been 2 3 mentioning many studies. I'm not immediately 4 familiar with that. 5 Are you familiar with his 2004 article, Ο. 6 "Registrants, Voters, and Turnout Variability Across 7 Neighborhoods" in Political Behavior? 8 Same thing, off the top of my head. Α. 9 Do you know if Professor Shaw measured Ο. 10 turnout as a percentage of registration in either of 11 those articles? I believe I recall seeing a claim in a 12 Α. 13 supplemental report that he did. 14 And are you familiar with the work of Ο. 15 Dr. Trey Hood? 16 I have some familiarity. Α. 17 And are you aware of whether he has used Ο. 18 registered voters as a denominator in measuring 19 turnout? 20 I would have to look at specific papers to Α. 21 refresh my memory. 22 I'd like you next to turn to Paragraph 36 Q. 23 of your report. 24 You state in Paragraph 36 that, After 25 Dr. Ansolabehere arrived at his no-match figures,

```
245
1
   he, quote, also makes greater effort to remove
   various non-matches that do not represent real and
2
3
   legally registered voters who lack necessary
4
   identification under SB 14. Correct?
5
             I believe that's what's stated there.
        A.
6
   Yes.
7
              To your knowledge, does a racial disparity
8
   exist in SB 14 possession in that pool of voters
   using both ecological regression estimates and
9
   Catalist estimates?
10
11
        Α.
              In which pool? There are many pools that
12
   he examines.
13
              The pool that you're referring to in
        Q.
14
   Paragraph 36 of your report.
15
              So this would have to go back to his --
        Α.
16
              7 --
        Ο.
17
              -- original report. Can I take a look at
        Α.
18
   that?
19
             Well, is his original report his current
        Ο.
20
   estimate?
21
              Well, that's not what you asked. You
        Α.
22
   asked about what I was citing here.
23
              I'm asking about -- but to the extent that
        0.
24
   your methodological concerns apply across both
25
   reports, I'm asking about his current estimate after
```

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246
   he received over 3 million additional records from
 1
 2
   DPS. So if you could take a look at 7.1.A and
 3
    7.1.B.
              Okay. What was the question? I have the
 4
         Α.
 5
    tables in front of me.
6
             Does a racial disparity persist in SB 14
   ID possession in the pool of voters that you are
7
8
   referring to?
9
              He reports a racial disparity.
             And that's using both ecological
10
        O.
11
   regression estimates and Catalist estimates.
12
   Correct?
13
             That's correct.
        A.
14
         0.
              And that figure excludes individuals on
15
    the suspense list. Correct?
16
              Which figure?
         Α.
17
              The figure -- the last column in 7.1.A and
         Ο.
    7.1.B.
18
19
              So I think you're referring to, in
20
    Table 7.1.B, 327,132? That column?
21
         Ο.
              Yes.
22
              That's what the label on the column
         Α.
23
    indicates, yes.
24
              Are individuals on the suspense list
25
    legally registered to vote?
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- A. I would have to look back at the definition of a suspense list.
- Q. So you're not aware of whether individuals on the suspense list are legally eligible to vote?
- A. It's a particular vocabulary that I would want to go back and refresh my recollection.
- Q. So as we sit here right now, you can't recall. Is that correct?
- A. I -- off the top of my head at this late date in the afternoon, I would want to go back and review the definition of the term.
- Q. And this figure excludes individuals who are matched to expired ID. Correct? The last column in 7.1.A and 7.1. --
- A. I'm sorry, excludes, is that what you said?
- Q. Yes. Excludes individuals who are matched to identification that has expired. Correct?
 - A. That's what it says here, yes.
- Q. Those individuals may be individuals who are legally registered to vote and don't possess unexpired ID; they simply possess expired ID.
- 23 | Correct?
- A. They may be registered to vote and possess expired ID?

Α.

248 1 O. Yes. 2 Α. I believe that's correct. 3 They may not be deadwood. Correct? Ο. 4 What do you mean by "deadwood"? Α. 5 It's a term that you use in your report Q. 6 and you defined earlier. Individuals, I believe, 7 who are on the registration list, but should not be 8 for some reason. These people may, in fact, not be 9 deadwood. Correct? Well, I'd want to look at the date of the 10 Α. 11 expiration, but I believe that's correct. They may 12 not be deadwood. This figure also excludes individuals who 13 0. 14 are matched to NCOA flags. Correct? 15 That's not clear from the table. I'd have Α. to go back to the text to verify, but I believe so. 16 17 And NCOA flags can indicate a move that is Q. 18 within a single state. Correct? 19 I believe so. Α. 20 Do you know, are most moves intrastate? O. 21 I would have to look that up. Α. 22 And those individuals may still be legally 0. 23 registered to vote if they move within the state. 24 Correct?

I don't know if particular individuals are

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1 or are not.

2

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4

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8

9

10

14

- Do you know if an individual who moves Ο. within a single county is legally required to reregister to vote?
- 5 I would have to look up the relevant law 6 in Texas.
 - So the individuals who have NCOA flags may be real voters who reside in Texas, but don't possess SB 14 ID. Correct?
 - I believe that is true. Α.
- 11 Are individuals who have a certain level Ο. 12 of disability exempt from SB 14's requirements, or are they merely eligible to apply for an exemption? 13
 - Α. I would have to review the details of the law to answer with certainty.
- 16 Are individuals over the age of 65 0. 17 required to show SB 14 ID in order to vote in person 18 at a polling place?
- 19 My understanding is that in order to vote Α. 20 in person, they would.
- 21 Turn to Paragraph 43 of your report, Ο. 22 please.
- 23 What is your basis to assert that the 24 denominator for any of Dr. Ansolabehere's 25 calculations excludes individuals who qualify for a

- disability exemption?
- A. We're referring back to his original report?
 - Q. Well, again, you've asserted that his methodological -- your methodological concerns persist across reports. So my question is: At any time, in fact, does Dr. Ansolabehere exclude individuals who qualify for a disability exemption from the denominator of his calculations?
 - A. I believe that you've overstated what I claimed. This is his supplemental report that I haven't had the same amount of time to examine in detail. So I can go off my speculation of what may or may not have changed in that particular table. But what's described in the report here is referring back to the table in the original report.
 - Q. And you believe that the denominator excludes voters who are registered but not required to present SB 14 ID. Is that correct?
 - A. That's my understanding from the original report.
 - Q. Are you certain that that's accurate?
 - A. As I said, that's my understanding from the original report. I can go back and check it.
 - Q. When did you receive Dr. Ansolabehere's

251 1 supplemental report? 2 Α. I don't know exactly. 3 Sometime around the 15th? O. 4 It's been a busy last few weeks. I really Α. 5 don't know exactly. 6 And you haven't had the time to review 7 Dr. Ansolabehere's supplemental report thoroughly enough to be able to determine if your 8 9 methodological critiques persist from the corrected 10 report to the current report? Is that your 11 testimony? I believe what I've said is that many 12 Α. No. 13 of my methodological concerns would still apply to 14 the methods used. 15 But you're not certain if all of them do? Q. 16 I would need to spend more time on the Α. 17 supplemental report in order to form an opinion on 18 the supplemental report. 19 Okay. Which -- please turn to Q. 20 Paragraph 40 of your report. 21 Given the State of Texas's failure to 22 provide Dr. Ansolabehere with its complete DPS 23 database initially, do you continue to believe that 24 it was irresponsible and misleading for 25 Dr. Ansolabehere to provide the estimate that he set

- forth in his initial and corrected report?
- 2 A. I continue to believe that the methods and
- 3 | lack of being forthcoming about the weakness of the
- 4 | methods is particularly irresponsible and
- 5 misleading.

- Q. Do you continue to believe that the number
- 7 | that he reports in his reply report is irresponsible
- 8 | and misleading?
- 9 A. I don't believe that that's what I said.
- 10 | That the number was irresponsible.
- 11 Q. And you say in Paragraph 40, It is
- 12 particularly irresponsible and misleading for
- 13 Ansolabehere to report as a finding that over
- 14 | 1 million voters in Texas do not possess acceptable
- 15 | ID under SB 14.
- 16 A. That's correct.
- Q. That's saying that reporting the number is
- 18 | irresponsible and misleading, is it not?
- 19 A. No. I think it's what it says it is, to
- 20 report, as a finding, that number, which gets to
- 21 | the --
- Q. And you believe that the current report
- 23 that incorporates the 3 million additional records
- 24 that were not provided to Dr. Ansolabehere, is
- 25 irresponsible and misleading to the extent that it

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253
 1
    reports as a finding the top line number that it
 2
    reports?
 3
              Which top line number are you referring
         Α.
 4
    to?
         We've looked at a number of tables.
 5
              The top line number is the no-match
         Q.
 6
    number.
             That's what I mean.
 7
              And to the extent -- and this is based on
 8
    my understanding of the similarity of the methods
 9
    used, that my criticisms still apply. And so, yes,
10
    absolutely.
11
         O. Okay. In your expert reports do you
12
    attempt to estimate the quantitative effect of your
13
    criticisms of Dr. Ansolabehere's analysis on the
14
    disparities that he observes and ID possession rates
15
   between Anglos and Hispanics and between Anglos and
16
   blacks?
17
        Α.
              I have not worked with the actual data, so
18
   no.
19
              Would it be fair to say, then, that you
         O.
20
    don't present your own best estimate of the rates of
21
    SB 14 ID possession among Anglos, Hispanics, and
22
   blacks in Texas?
23
             I do not present original estimates.
        A.
24
                   MR. FREEMAN: Let's mark this as
25
    Exhibit --
```

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254
 1
         Α.
              And actually, I'm forgetting your
 2
    question. We're referring to Ansolabehere's number.
 3
    We could do that replication analysis. So I'm not
 4
    recalling what your question was and I may want to
 5
    amend my answer.
 6
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) Do you provide your own
7
    best estimate of the rates of SB 14 ID possession
8
    among Anglos, Hispanics, and blacks in Texas?
9
         A.
              I would not characterize it as that, no.
10
                   (Exhibit Number 14 marked.)
11
                   MR. FREEMAN: Mark this as
12
    Exhibit 14.
13
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) what is this document?
         Q.
14
         A.
              This looks to be a report that I did with
15
    Professor Marvin Overby in 2006.
16
              And that was in litigation concerning
         Q.
17
    Missouri voter ID law. Correct?
18
         Α.
              Yes, it was.
              If you turn to page 2, Paragraph 6-A, am I
19
         Ο.
20
    right that this report represents the best estimate
21
    that you were able to make concerning the number of
22
    individuals who were likely to desire a photo ID
23
    following implementation in Missouri's voter ID law?
24
              Page -- I think there's multiple page 2s
         Α.
25
    here.
```

255 1 0. Second page of the document, 2 Paragraph 6-A. Am I right that this report 3 represents the best estimate that you were able to 4 make concerning the number of individuals who were likely to desire a photo ID following implementation 5 6 of Missouri's voter ID law? 7 What we report here is our best estimate A. 8 of the number of eligible Missouri voters, 9 et cetera. 10 And so you swore, under oath, that each **O**. 11 analytical step that you took was, in your opinion, 12 a valid determination based on your knowledge as a social scientist. Correct? 13 14 I don't think that's what it says. **A**. 15 says our best estimate and has a summary of the 16 report that we've provided. 17 Would you agree that your best estimate 18 constitutes a valid determination based on your 19 knowledge as a social scientist? 20 I would have to refresh my memory about Α. the actual estimate. This is from eight years ago. 21 22 At the time and given the information 23 we had, it was intended to be an improved estimate. 24 I think we provided a variety of estimates, and then 25 among those, identify the best, conditional on that

1 | set.

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- Q. In fact, you described it as your best estimate. Correct?
 - A. I believe it's described as our best estimate, which is in the context of providing several estimates and choosing the preferred estimate among those.
 - Q. And you determined that only 6,000 individuals were likely to desire a photo ID for voting purposes under the Missouri voter ID law.
- 11 | Correct?
 - A. This says, Of these, about 6,000 are likely to desire a photo ID for the purpose of voting based upon historic voter participation patterns, yes.
- Q. Let's work our way quickly, I hope, through the methodology starting on page 3 of the report itself, not the declaration that begins it.
- You started by estimating the voting age population of Missouri in July 2006. Correct?

 Middle paragraph.
 - A. Well, it's been many years since I've seen this document, so I'm going to need to take some time to refresh my memory as we go along here.
 - Q. Do you want to take a break so that you

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257
 1
    can do that?
 2
              I can do it as we go along.
         Α.
 3
         0.
              Okay, that's fine.
 4
                   So you start by estimating the VAP of
 5
   Missouri in July 2006. Correct?
 6
         Α.
              What paragraph are you referring to?
 7
              Middle paragraph of page 3.
         Ο.
 8
         Α.
              "As an alternative," that paragraph?
 9
              "On August 4th, 2006," that paragraph.
         Ο.
10
                   MR. POSNER:
                                Dan?
11
                   MR. FREEMAN: Yes.
12
                   MR. POSNER: Excuse me, Counsel, why
13
   don't we take a break, let the witness --
14
                   MR. FREEMAN: Let's take a break.
15
                   (Recess.)
16
         Ο.
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) I am going to skip ahead
17
    to try to get this puppy moving. If you can move to
18
   page 4 of the Missouri report.
19
                   Am I correct that you, within the
20
   universe of individuals who lack ID, try to
21
   determine the number of such individuals who would
22
   actually need to acquire ID based on turnout
23
   figures. Correct?
24
              There's multiple steps here.
         A.
25
         Q.
              Uh-huh.
```

```
258
1
        A.
             And so part of the analysis involves
2
   thinking about who would desire a photo ID in order
3
   to vote.
4
                  So in that sense, turnout figures are
5
   employed to get an estimate of that.
6
             However, in the next paragraph you state
7
   that, "This population of individuals who lack ID is
8
   typically assumed to be poor, less educated, and
9
   disproportionally composed of racial and ethnic
10
   minorities." Correct?
11
             That's what's written there.
        A.
              And you, therefore, discount the number of
12
         O.
    individuals believed not to have ID by a lower
13
14
    turnout rate because you believe that this group
15
   will exhibit a lower turnout rate. Correct?
16
                   I believe it's referring to lowest
         Α.
              No.
17
   quintile of family income, persons without high
18
    school education, exhibiting lower turnout rate.
19
             And you state that you're focusing on this
        Q.
20
   group because the population of individuals that
21
   does not possess a Missouri-issued photo ID is
22
   typically assumed to be poor, less educated, and
23
   disproportionately composed of racial and ethnic
24
   minorities. Correct?
25
        A.
             That's a paraphrasing of what's written
```

```
259
1
   there.
2
             But it's an accurate paraphrasing.
         Q.
3
   Correct?
4
             Well, it's different than what's written
        A.
5
    there. It says, "For this reason, we focus on the
6
   lowest quintile."
7
             And you focus on the lowest quintile
        Q.
8
   because you, as a social scientist, believe that
9
    individuals who do not possess a State-issued photo
10
    ID are more likely to be poor, less educated, and
11
    disproportionately composed of racial and ethnic
12
   minorities. Correct?
13
              What it says is, "Typically assumed."
        A.
14
              But you incorporated this in your best
         0.
15
    estimate, did you not?
16
             It's incorporated in the report, that's
        A.
17
    correct.
18
              Let's move on to Mr. Ghitza's report.
         Ο.
19
    I correct that the only criticisms of Mr. Ghitza's
20
    data, methods, or opinions contained in your report
    concern the effects of the accuracy rate of the
21
22
    Catalist race estimates?
23
              Which number is Mr. Ghitza's report?
         Α.
24
              It's not an exhibit. I'm asking questions
         Ο.
25
    about your report, and what your report says about
```

- 1 Mr. Ghitza and the Catalist race estimate.
- 2 Am I correct that the only criticisms
- 3 of Mr. Ghitza contained within your report concern
- 4 | the effects of the accuracy rates of the Catalist
- 5 | race estimates. Is that correct?
- 6 A. I'm trying to refresh my memory. There's
- 7 | a lot of words in my report. So if you'll be
- 8 patient, I'll look through.
- 9 MR. FREEMAN: We can go off the
- 10 record while he looks through.
- 11 A. Is there a particular section that you're
- 12 | referring to?
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) I'm referring to the
- 14 entirety of your report. I'd like to know the scope
- 15 of the critique that you have of Mr. Ghitza and the
- 16 | Catalist race estimate.
- 17 A. So my recollection, based on the report --
- 18 | you're asking about a criticism of Mr. Ghitza
- 19 | specifically or Catalist --
- 0. Or Catalist as a general matter.
- 21 A. I think the Catalist data is discussed in
- 22 a number of portions in the report.
- Q. I'm asking about critiques of Catalist's
- 24 | method of race estimate. Your only -- your only
- 25 critique that you provide is -- regards the accuracy

```
261
 1
    rates.
            Is that correct?
              I'm looking for that section of the
 2
         Α.
 3
    report.
 4
              I believe it's Paragraph 105 and 106.
         Ο.
 5
              Could be helpful.
         Α.
 6
                   So in this section of the report, I
 7
    mentioned Dr. Ghitza in particular. And I mentioned
 8
    that the records are updated frequently, and the
    evidence about the confidence and the coding of
 9
10
    black or Hispanic versus non-Hispanic whites.
11
              Your report doesn't contain any criticisms
         O.
12
    of the method by which Catalist estimates race.
13
    Correct?
              Just the accuracy?
14
              I don't believe I criticized the method by
         A.
15
    which they estimate race.
16
              Have you ever published any work in a
         0.
17
   peer-reviewed journal in which you attempted to
    estimate the races of individuals in the absence of
18
    self-reporting?
19
20
              I don't recall so.
         A.
21
              Have you ever relied upon race estimates
         Ο.
22
    provided by any outside company?
23
              By a company?
         Α.
24
              Such as Catalist or a comparable
         Ο.
25
    organization.
```

```
262
 1
         Α.
              In what context?
              In your work as a social scientist.
 2
         O.
 3
              Work including what?
         Α.
 4
              All work --
         Ο.
 5
              Publications?
         Α.
 6
              -- period.
         Q.
 7
              Not in -- I don't believe in any
         Α.
    publications.
 8
 9
              How about any work outside of
         Q.
10
    publications?
11
         Α.
              And so repeat the question.
12
              Have you ever relied upon racial estimates
         0.
13
    provided by Catalist or a comparable organization?
14
              So estimates of individual's race and
         A.
15
    ethnicity?
16
         Q.
              Yes.
17
              Well, as I've mentioned, I've been a
18
    participant in the CCES survey, and so Catalist has
19
    provided some validated vote data in there. But I
20
    don't believe their racial estimates are in that
21
    data, so I think I can say no.
22
              But you, yourself, have relied on data
         0.
23
    provided by Catalist in the work that you have done
24
    as a social scientist. Correct?
25
         Α.
              Not -- I don't believe in publications, I
```

263 haven't used that work. 1 2 But you have relied on it in other work 0. 3 that you've done as a social scientist, the Catalist 4 data. Correct? 5 Relied as I have access to data that **A**. 6 contains some variables from Catalist. 7 Okay. Have you ever used ecological Q. 8 regression to estimate racial effects or 9 disparities? Broadly speaking, I think we can say yes. 10 A. 11 And you would agree that ecological Ο. 12 regression is an accepted methodology in political science to estimate patterns of race? 13 14 It is a method that is often misused in Α. 15 terms of the interpretation of coefficients. 16 But it is an accepted method when it's 0. 17 used correctly. Correct? 18 Regarding the interpretation of Α. 19 coefficients, that they're not indicative of 20 individuals but, rather, of the characteristics of 21 places. 22 But ecological regression can also be used Ο. 23 to estimate the characteristics of individuals so 24 long -- as a group, so long as an individual does 25 not commit the ecological fallacy. Correct?

2

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12

- A. The ecological fallacy is the concern.

 And so we typically see ecological regressions in contexts where we don't have access to individual level data.
- Q. But so long as an individual does not commit the ecological fallacy, ecological regression is an accurate and accepted method in political science to estimate effects or patterns by race in terms of groups. Correct?
- A. You're committing the ecological fallacy and stating it that way. So that's inconsistent, the way you're stating it.
- Q. Would you accept that ecological regression, as a whole, is an accepted methodology in political science so long as the ecological fallacy is not committed?
- 17 A. It is used in political science research,
 18 yes.
- Q. And your report does not assert that

 Dr. Ansolabehere commits the ecological fallacy in

 his use of ecological regression. Correct?
- 22 A. I don't believe that opinion is contained
 23 in my report.
- Q. And none of your critiques of the Catalist race estimates address Dr. Ansolabehere's use of

```
265
 1
    ecological regression.
                            Correct?
 2
         Α.
              No, I don't believe that's correct.
 3
              You believe that your critiques of
         O.
 4
    Catalist race estimates also constitute a critique
 5
    of his use of ecological regression?
 6
              Let me refer back to just refresh my
         Α.
 7
    memory on one point I have in mind here.
 8
                   No, I don't think there are critiques
 9
    of the Catalist data. Estimates of race are
10
    similarly critiques of the ecological regression.
11
             And your critiques of Catalist race
         0.
12
    estimates are not similarly critiques of estimates
13
   using homogenous block groups. Correct?
14
         A.
              Correct.
15
              And your critiques of Catalist race
16
    estimates are not similarly critiques of
17
   Dr. Ansolabehere's use of Texas's Spanish surname
18
   voter designation to estimate racial disparities.
19
    Correct?
20
         A.
              Correct.
21
              And your report doesn't contain any
         0.
22
    critiques of Dr. Ansolabehere's use of ecological
23
   regression. Correct?
24
              I don't believe it does, other than the
         Α.
   basic points that there's a garbage-in/garbage-out
25
```

```
266
1
    problem. I don't think I used that terminology.
 2
                   But, rather, given that there's
 3
    problems with the estimates of persons who lack
 4
    SB 14 ID and that's an input to the ecological
 5
    regression. So in that sense there's a criticism.
 6
              And the same is true of the homogenous
 7
    block group analysis?
 8
              I believe that would be so.
         Α.
 9
              And the same as the Spanish surname voter
         Ο.
10
    registration analysis?
11
              I believe that's correct.
         Α.
12
              Paragraph 106, you state that the accuracy
         0.
13
    of the Catalist race estimate is expected to be
14
    correlated with the lack of ID. Correct?
15
             I believe that's what's stated here.
         A.
16
             What is your basis for that contention?
         0.
17
         A.
              Well, I don't have it footnoted to a
18
    specific literature, so that would be a surmise that
19
    lack of ID is correlated with minority status.
20
             And with lack of -- sorry.
         O.
21
                   You mean with minority status as
22
    designated by Catalist, the errors?
23
              I believe this is a continuation of the
         A.
24
    paragraph above. So it's to the extent that these
25
    probabilities are even lower for individuals with
```

```
267
1
   low SES, it follows, et cetera.
2
                   So --
3
             But you don't have any basis --
        0.
4
             That should be -- fact is a poor choice of
        A.
5
   words there, on my part. That should be continuing
6
   that if/then statement.
7
             There's no factual basis to believe that
        Q.
8
    errors are correlated with lack of ID. Correct?
9
             It's an if/then -- it should be an if/then
        A.
10
   statement.
11
             Have you attempted to quantify the effect
        0.
12
    of the accuracy of the Catalist race estimate would
   have on racial disparities and ID possession? Did
13
14
   you perform that analysis yourself?
15
              Attempted to quantify --
        A.
16
             The effect of any lack of accuracy in the
        0.
17
    Catalist race estimate would have on racial
18
   disparities and ID possession?
19
             No, I don't believe I do that in this
        A.
20
   reports.
21
             Did you attempt to weigh observations in
        0.
22
    Dr. Ansolabehere's calculations based on Catalist
23
   race estimates by the probability that race or
24
    ethnicity is estimated correctly?
25
        A.
             I don't have those estimates so I did not
```

```
268
1
   do original data analysis.
2
             Did you conduct an instrumental variable
        Q.
3
   regression to assess the accuracy of
4
   Dr. Ansolabehere's calculations based on Catalist
5
   race estimates?
6
             I've not conducted any original data
7
   analysis.
 8
         Q.
              So any of the concerns that you've
 9
    expressed regarding the effects of any lack of
10
    accuracy in Catalist's race estimate, those concerns
11
    are speculation, correct, of what might be?
12
              Well, they're concerns raised by the
13
    information provided in the Ghitza report about the
14
    accuracy of the racial and ethnic categorizations in
    the Catalist data.
15
             But whether those concerns might result in
16
17
   the elimination of the statistical significance of
18
   Dr. Ansolabehere's observations of racial
19
   disparities or eliminations of the racial
20
   disparities itself, that's speculation. Correct?
21
        A.
             I have not done the analysis so I don't
22
   know for sure. I believe this is a discussion of
23
   concerns that should have been addressed.
24
              And in any other materials that you have
         0.
25
    in your report that is not footnoted, those are
```

```
269
 1
    surmises. Correct?
 2
                   MR. KEISTER: Object to form.
 3
              That seems like it would -- there's a lot
         Α.
 4
    of sentences that aren't footnoted. So do you want
 5
    to go one by one?
 6
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) No, I do not.
                                                I don't
 7
    think your counsel wants me to, either. And
 8
    probably, if you're going to make your flight
 9
    tomorrow, I don't think you want me to.
10
                   Does your report ever actually state
11
    that you have determined that the racial ID
    possession estimates Dr. Ansolabehere calculated
12
13
    based on Catalist race estimates, are not
14
    statistically significant?
15
              I did not conduct that kind of statistical
         Α.
16
    analysis.
17
              Look at Paragraph 106. You state that the
18
    error known to exist in Catalist estimates of race
19
    and ethnicity is not addressed by Dr. Ansolabehere.
20
    Correct?
21
              That's what's written there.
         A.
22
              In fact, Dr. Ansolabehere conducted a
         Q.
23
    separate estimate of racial disparities and ID
24
   possession based solely on individuals for whom
25
    Catalist has a high confidence of its race estimate.
```

Correct?

A. He does report that.

- Q. Would you agree that as a matter of basic statistical theory, errors in classification between two groups will reduce the observed difference between those groups rather than inflate the observed difference?
- A. Not necessarily if there's multiple sources of error and they're systematic, as they are with the Catalist data. I believe that the categorization of high confidence is an apples and oranges comparison across groups, which is evidenced from Dr. Ghitza's report.
- Q. I'd like to turn to Paragraph 18.D of your report.
 - A. I'm there.
- Q. Which experts assert that SB 14 will suppress voter turnout?
 - A. I would have to -- again, there's a lot of experts. This is a characterization or a summary of the overarching arguments that I interpreted in the 17 reports. So several of them speak to SB 14 as an obstacle or they reference the calculations of voting to support differential effects on turnout.
 - Q. Would you agree that voter turnout

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Α.

271 measures the aggregate determination of individual voters as to whether to participate in an election? I think you can use the word "turnout" to Α. describe an individual's behavior as well. But would you agree that it also describes Ο. the aggregate, that that's an accurate description --It can be used to describe aggregate votes Α. as a percent of some pool or it could be used to describe whether an individual votes. Okay. Does voter turnout measure **O**. opportunity to participate in the political process or is that a separate question? That sounds like a much broader concept **A**. than voting. If a jurisdiction decided to fund an 0. election by charging every minority voter \$5, but did not charge Anglo voters, and the minority voters decided that the election was so important that they paid \$5 each and showed up at the polls at the same rate as the Anglo voters, would the election exhibit reduced minority turnout? Object to form. MR. KEISTER: (BY MR. FREEMAN) You may answer. Ο.

All else constant?

```
272
1
        O.
              Yes.
2
        Α.
              And -- I think the way you've read it,
3
   it's missing something. Try again.
4
                     I'm happy to repeat my question.
        Q.
              Sure.
5
   My question was, in fact, complete, but I will read
6
   it again.
7
                   If a jurisdiction decided to fund an
8
   election by charging every minority voter $5, but
9
   did not charge Anglo voters, but minority voters
   decided that the election was so important that many
10
11
   of them paid $5 each and they showed up at the polls
12
   to vote at the same rate as Anglo voters did, would
   that election exhibit reduced minority turnout?
13
14
                   MR. KEISTER:
                                 Objection; form.
15
   Relevancy and calls for speculation.
16
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) You may answer.
        Ο.
17
              Again, I think you've formulated the
        Α.
18
   question incorrectly, because you didn't say what
19
   happened to -- you're talking about reduced turnout,
20
   so there's a comparison to something else. I don't
21
   know what you're comparing to.
22
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) Vis-à-vis the Anglo
        Q.
   voters.
23
24
                   MR. KEISTER: Same objections.
25
        Q.
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) Or vis-à-vis their --
```

So

273 1 either way, vis-à-vis past turnout or vis-à-vis 2 Anglo voters. 3 If they decided that they were going 4 to pay the \$5 fee and continue to vote at the same 5 rate that they voted previously, would there be 6 reduced turnout? 7 MR. KEISTER: Same objections. Plus confusing, compound. 8 9 (BY MR. FREEMAN) Let me start over, then. Ο. 10 Trying to make it clean. Doing my best. 11 If a jurisdiction decided to fund an 12 election by charging every minority voter \$5, but did not charge Anglo voters, but a large group of 13 14 minority voters decided that the election was so 15 important that they would pay the \$5 each and showed 16 up at the polls at the same rate that they had 17 previously showed up at the polls and at the same 18 rate as Anglo voters, would that election exhibit 19 that the \$5 fee had reduced minority turnout? 20 MR. KEISTER: Objection; form. 21 Relevancy and calls for speculation. 22 Α. And I still don't like the way you're 23 phrasing the question. It's too ambiguous. You're 24 talking about a group turning out at the same rate.

It's not telling me about others in the group.

```
274
1
   it's -- it's phrased ambiguously.
2
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) Let me try again.
        0.
3
   have a jurisdiction. The jurisdiction decides it's
4
   going to charge black voters $5 in order to fund its
5
   election. Each black voter has to pay $5 to vote.
6
   Within that jurisdiction, black voters, as a group,
7
   decide the election is important. They pay $5 each
   to vote in sufficient numbers that the same
8
9
   percentage of black voters are voting in the
10
   election where they have to pay $5 as they voted in
11
   the prior election where they didn't have to pay
12
   anything at all.
13
                   Would you agree that the election in
14
   which they had to pay $5 did not show reduced
15
   minority turnout levels relative to the prior
16
   election?
17
                   MR. KEISTER:
                                Objection; form.
18
   Relevancy, vague and confusing, and calls for
19
   speculation.
20
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) You may answer.
        Ο.
              I am a little confused. May I see it in
21
        Α.
22
   writing?
23
        Q.
             Dr. Milyo --
24
                   MR. KEISTER: It was a long, long
25
   question.
```

```
275
1
                   MR. POSNER: You could Xerox that
2
   part of your page.
3
              (BY MR. FREEMAN)
                                Read that.
        Ο.
4
                   MR. KEISTER:
                                 And just let the record
5
   reflect, the witness is looking at the written
6
   question.
              And I will still assert my same
7
   objections, unless you want them in writing.
8
              So am I supposed to do as it was
        Α.
9
   originally written there or what you have written
10
   in?
11
                                As I have corrected it
              (BY MR. FREEMAN)
        Ο.
12
   to try and make it clear for you.
              And what is this word?
13
        Α.
14
             Prior election.
        0.
15
                   MR. KEISTER: And since there was
16
   dialogue, I'll renew my objections.
                                          Same
17
   objections.
18
              If I interpret this as you're saying,
        Α.
19
   turnout doesn't change, does it change, then I would
20
   say turnout doesn't change.
21
              (BY MR. FREEMAN) Okay. Would you agree
        Ο.
22
   that in that election, minority voters faced an
23
   unequal opportunity to participate in a political
24
   process vis-à-vis Anglos, because they had to pay $5
25
   and Anglos did not?
```

276 1 MR. KEISTER: Same objections. 2 I don't believe my report speaks to that. Α. 3 (BY MR. FREEMAN) I'm trying to ask these Ο. 4 questions in order to understand and assess the 5 credibility of your report. And so I would ask you 6 to answer the question regarding the hypothetical as 7 it goes to your methodology of assessing voter 8 turnout. 9 MR. KEISTER: Same objections. And to the extent that it is outside of the report and 10 11 the issues which he's designated, I would also 12 But you can answer. 13 Given, by definition, you've stated that Α. 14 black voters have to pay \$5 to vote, that is a 15 difference. 16 (BY MR. FREEMAN) Does voter turnout 17 isolate the rate at which particular election 18 administration provisions discourage individuals 19 from voting or does it include other variables? 20 I think you mean is it predicted by or Α. 21 influenced by other variables? 22 Q. Yes. 23 Can we read it again, then? Α. Okay. 24 Does voter turnout isolate the rate Sure. Q.

at which particular election administration

```
277
1
   provisions discourage individuals from voting or is
2
    it predicted by or influenced by other variables?
3
              Voter turnout overall would be predicted
        Α.
4
   by a large number -- or affected by a large number
5
    of factors.
 6
              And you're not arguing in your report that
 7
    the D term is the -- in the cost of voting
 8
    calculation is the only term that matters. Correct?
 9
         Α.
              What part of my report are you referring
10
    to?
              I'm referring -- well, let's start with
11
         Ο.
12
    Paragraph 137.
13
                   Am I correct that you don't know,
14
    without looking at your report, whether or not your
15
    report states that only the D term matters?
16
              I like to be well informed about what I'm
         Α.
17
    talking about, and you're asking me specifics about
18
    what my report says. I think I would like to see
19
    and refresh my recollection.
20
              Okay. Let me ask again, now that you've
        O.
21
   had a chance to look.
22
                   You're not arguing in your report
23
   that the only term that matters to voter turnout is
24
   the D term, are you?
25
        A.
              This section of the report is a criticism
```

- of the calculus of voting as articulated by Anthony
- 2 Downs and represented algebraically by Riker and
- Ordeshook. And so D is not the only determinant of
- 4 voting in that model.
- Q. So to the extent that experts in this case have looked at the C term, holding D fixed, you would not say that there's a methodological problem, would you?
- 9 A. Who has looked at the C term, holding D
 10 fixed?
- Q. Would you say that there is no methodological problem with Dr. Burden or
- Dr. Webster, focusing on the C term, holding the D term fixed?
- A. I'm not sure if "methodological" is the word that you want to use.
- Q. I would like you to answer my question.
- A. I think there is a problem with assuming that the voter ID law affects only the C term and not some other determinants of voting.
- Q. And the other determinants of voting would be the D term, to your mind?
- A. If one had to shoehorn it into this
 particular representation of voting, you could do it
 that way.

- Q. You would agree that it's a very well established framework within political science, correct, the cost of voting analysis?
- A. It is something that is frequently appealed to, that's correct.
 - Q. Well accepted. Correct?
- A. As I've demonstrated, there are a number of problems with the simplistic calculus of voting that are well-known; and so, therefore, that is not well accepted unless people don't know what they're talking about; then sometimes they're a little careless in how they state things. So, you know.
- Q. In the abstract, the framework, the Downsian calculus of voting is well accepted in the discipline of political science. Correct?
- A. As I've discussed here, I would amend it the way Riker and Ordeshook do. There are decades of commentaries about the problems with the simplistic Downsian analysis. If what you mean is that in general costs and benefits affect turnout, that's different, in my mind, than specifically referencing the Downsian analysis.
- Q. As updated by professors, such as Aldredge and Ordeshook, the Downsian calculus of voting framework is widely accepted in political science,

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280

- 1 | is it not, as a framework?
- A. Well, what do you mean as a framework? It is employed to discuss the problems such as the paradox of voting. It's the reason other people have come up with game theoretic or other kinds of
- 6 explanations for voter turnout.

It is a problematic framework. It is well-known. Costs and benefits are still a way in which people talk about determinants of voting.

- Q. If you could look at Paragraph 139, you state that, "It no longer follows modern or modified version of the Catalist voting that a small change in the cost of voting will lead to a dramatic change in turnout." Correct?
 - A. This is Paragraph 139?
- Q. That's correct.
- A. That's what's stated there.
- Q. Would you consider a 5 percent change in turnout statewide to be dramatic?
 - A. This is in comparison to the predictions of the simple Downsian model, which would suggest that a very small change in costs could completely wipe out turnout.
- Q. Let me try again. What do you mean by dramatic"?

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- A. I mean it in the context that it has been used by others as a conclusion based on the simple model, that whatever their conclusion is wouldn't follow based on this model.
- Q. What percentage in turnout statewide would you consider to be nondramatic? Less than 10 percent?
 - A. I don't have a specific number in mind.
- Q. What would you consider to be dramatic? More than 10 percent?
- 11 A. The issue of dramatic, again, is reference 12 to a statement about the elasticity or 13 responsiveness of turnout to a small change in 14 costs. It's a reference to a high elasticity versus
- a lower elasticity, might be one way to describe it,
- 16 or a lower responsiveness.
- So the point here is not to identify an absolute number, but a relative difference across the two models.
- Q. You're not, by training, a political scientist. Correct? You're an economist?
- A. I have a PhD in economics and I have additional training in political economics. I have been hired as a political scientist. I teach political science. Some people think I'm a

```
282
   political scientist. There isn't like an official
 1
 2
    card that you get that describes you as a political
 3
    scientist.
 4
        O.
              But there is a degree in political science
5
    and you don't have one. Correct?
6
              I do not have a PhD in political science.
7
             You don't have an undergraduate degree in
        Q.
8
   political science. Correct?
9
              I do not have an undergraduate degree in
10
   political science.
11
              You have never received tenure as a
         Ο.
12
   professor of political science. Correct?
13
              My tenure home is in the department of
         Α.
    economics.
14
15
              You've taught adjunct courses in political
         Q.
16
    science.
             Correct?
17
              I have taught courses cross listed in
18
   political science over the years, and I have taught
19
    courses in political science over the years.
20
             In Paragraph 140, am I correct that you
        0.
21
    state, "In general, post-registration election
22
   procedures" -- you provide some examples -- "have
23
   fairly modest, insignificant, or even perverse
24
   effects on voter turnout"?
25
        A.
              That is the statement there.
```

2

13

- Q. By "modest," do you mean effects in single digits?
- 3 By modest I mean referencing the results Α. 4 in some of the literature that's cited, that many of 5 these studies are pointing out that large effects 6 that people thought existed previously, when looked 7 at with more recent data or methods, we'd sometimes find smaller effects or statistically insignificant 8 9 effects, sometimes even a surprising sign on the 10 effect.
- Q. And you're aware of the 2005 study by
- Wolfinger, Highton, and Mullin on this subject?
 - A. I'm aware of that study.
- Q. And, in fact, you've written before that their study deservedly won an award. Correct?
- A. I believe that sounds familiar.
- Q. Wolfinger, Highton, and Mullin found that
- 18 for the lowest socioeconomic status voters,
- estimated turnout can rise by more than 10 percent
- when comparing states with the least burdensome
- 21 postregistration procedures as compared to the
- states with the most burdensome postregistration
- 23 procedures. Correct?
- A. I would have to look at their study to be
- sure of that characterization.

```
284
1
                   MR. FREEMAN: Mark this as
    Exhibit 15. And if you could turn to page 15,
2
3
    Table 5.
 4
                   (Exhibit Number 15 marked.)
5
             (BY MR. FREEMAN) And this table shows the
        0.
6
    difference between the estimated turnout with worst
7
    practices and the estimated turnout with best
8
    practices. For individuals with less than a high
9
    school education it's estimated to be 10.7 percent.
10
    Correct?
11
              That looks to be what this table reports.
        A.
12
              And in the same table they found that the
    projected turnout increases with universal adoption
13
14
    of best practices, with smallest for whites, larger
15
    for blacks, and larger still for Hispanics.
16
    Correct?
17
         A.
              In this table, that looks to be correct.
              You also cite to, "Why Electoral Reform
18
         Ο.
19
                 If You Build It, Will They Come?", by
    Has Failed.
20
    Traugott, in your report. Do you recall that?
21
              It may be cited in multiple places. I can
         Α.
22
    see one citation here in footnote 98.
23
              And you cite that for the notion that
         0.
24
    electoral reforms may only have modest, nonexistent,
25
    or perverse effects on turnout?
```

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

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12

13

14

15

16

17

18

- A. As part of the literature on postregistration election procedures.
- Q. In fact, what Traugott describes as small effects on turnout are changes that are mostly in the single digits. Correct?
 - A. I don't recall that exactly.
- Q. Did you read Traugott in preparation for your report in this case? Did you rereview it?
- A. I believe I have looked at all of the studies that are referenced.
- Q. And do you recall what size of effects Traugott found?
 - A. I don't recall off the top of my head.
- Q. Would you agree that Traugott observed positive changes in turnout due to reductions in the cost of voting?
- A. I would have to look to answer that with complete confidence. But --
- Q. Are you familiar with the political
- science literature finding that costs related to
- such mundane things as the weather may reduce voter
- turnout?
- A. There are, I believe, multiple studies
- 24 that might fall under that heading.
- Q. Are you familiar with the political

```
286
1
    science literature finding reductions in turnout
2
    based on increased travel costs related to reaching
3
    a more distant polling place?
4
              I believe I recall seeing a reference to
        A.
5
    that in one of the supplemental reports. And I
6
    believe I have seen a working paper perhaps, or --
   I'm not sure whether it was a working paper or a
7
8
    recent publication.
9
              Would you agree that SB 14 imposes a cost
         O.
10
    primarily on those voters who do not already possess
11
    SB 14 ID?
12
              For individuals who wish to -- who votes,
         A.
13
    then they would need to acquire some form of ID.
14
             So the cost of -- for purposes of the cost
         0.
15
    of voting, the cost term increases caused by SB 14
    relate primarily to individuals who don't already
16
17
    have SB 14 ID and want to vote. Correct?
18
        A.
             Yes.
19
              Would you agree that for those voters who
         Ο.
20
    do not already possess SB 14 ID, the cost required
21
    to obtain SB 14 ID is greater than the cost of
22
    registration, in terms of the cost of voter
23
    framework?
24
                   MR. KEISTER:
                                 Object to form.
25
         Α.
              Are they already registered?
```

- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) I'm asking for an apples-to-apples comparison. Person who is registered, but needs to get ID, versus a person who is not registered and needs to register. Would you agree that the cost to obtain ID is greater than the cost to register?
- MR. KEISTER: Object to form. It calls for speculation.
- A. Yeah. I don't think I speak to that in the report.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) I'm asking your basic understanding of the processes involved here, as someone who expressed familiarity with political science and understands what the process involved is to register to vote and someone who has studied SB 14 to the extent demonstrated in your report. Do you believe it is more or less burdensome to obtain an ID in comparison to registering to vote?
 - MR. KEISTER: Object to form.
- A. I don't believe I spoke to that in the report. So you're asking for speculation.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) So are you saying you don't have enough information about the burdens involved in obtaining an ID in order to be able to compare it with what you already know about the

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- 1 costs involved in simply registering to vote?
- MR. KEISTER: Object to form.
- 3 Mischaracterizes prior testimony.
 - Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) You may answer.
 - A. I believe what I said was that I don't discuss that in the report. I can -- it sounds like you're asking me to speculate about that kind of --
 - Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) I'm asking you to apply the information that you have to a pretty simple question, which is, is the cost entailed in obtaining an ID greater than the cost entailed in registering to vote?
 - MR. KEISTER: Same objections.
 - A. I suppose it depends on the circumstances of the particular person.
 - Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) On average, based on the information that you have obtained in your preparation to testify in this case, would you say that the cost entailed to obtain ID is greater than the cost entailed to register to vote?
 - MR. KEISTER: Same objections.
- A. I have not examined, in this report, the costs of registering to vote.
 - Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) Are you aware, in any background that you have as a social scientist, of

289 the costs involved in registering to vote in the 1 2 State of Texas? 3 I would have to refresh my memory back to Α. 4 the -- some of the expert reports, if they reference 5 But nothing comes to mind immediately in 6 terms of a systematic estimate of the cost of 7 registration. 8 Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) You mail in a form, am I 9 right, to register to vote? You just mail in a 10 form? 11 MR. KEISTER: Object to form. 12 Argumentative. 13 I believe your experts have testified that Α. 14 there's much more to costs. 15 (BY MR. FREEMAN) Have you registered to Q. vote in the last ten years? 16 17 In the last ten years. Α. 18 Do you know how one registers to vote, Ο. 19 what the process is? 20 I recall how I registered to vote. Α. 21 Did you submit a form? Ο. 22 I don't recall that exactly. I believe it Α. 23 was when I moved to Missouri. 24 And how did you register to vote? Ο. 25 Α. I believe it was at the time that I

8

9

13

14

15

16

17

- 1 | obtained my driver's license.
- Q. For individuals who are not obtaining a driver's license, are they able to register to vote by mailing in a form?
- 5 MR. KEISTER: Objection; form.
- 6 | Argumentative, calls for speculation.
 - A. I haven't made it my business to look at the registration process in Texas, to answer that definitively.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) So you don't know how one registers to vote in the State of Texas, whether one can just mail a form?
 - A. With complete confidence? I --
 - Q. Okay. Compared to the number of polling places, are you aware of whether EICs can be obtained at more locations in Texas or fewer locations in Texas?
- MR. KEISTER: Object to form.
- 19 Confusing, compound.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) On average, do you know if there are more locations where you can apply for an EIC or more locations where you can vote in person on election day?
- A. I'm not familiar with the number of polling locations on a particular election day.

291 1 O. Have you studied election administration? 2 Α. Some aspects. 3 Are there generally multiple polling Q. 4 places in a city, dozens, hundreds, sometimes? 5 Could be. Α. 6 Do you know if there are dozens or Ο. 7 hundreds of places to obtain an EIC in the city of 8 Houston, for example? 9 Α. I don't know the exact number. 10 Do you know if there are fewer than ten? O. 11 I don't believe that's something that I Α. 12 spoke to in my report. 13 Did you ever review the report of 0. 14 Dr. Gerald Webster? 15 Yes, I did. Α. Did you identify, in the report of 16 0. Dr. Gerald Webster, how many locations there are to 17 18 obtain -- to apply for an EIC in the city of 19 Houston? 20 I don't recall committing that to memory. Α. 21 Let's refresh your recollection. You can Ο. 22 look at Figure 6 of Dr. Webster's report. Let's 23 take a look at the dots that represent DPS locations 24 or temporary EIC locations. 25 Looking at that, would it be fair to

apply for an EIC?

292

- say that there are likely far more locations in the city of Houston where there are polling places on election day than there are locations where one can
- MR. KEISTER: Objection; form.
- 6 Relevancy.

4

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21

22

- A. Based on this diagram, I would say so.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) Would you agree that on average for those voters who do not already possess SB 14 ID, the cost of traveling to apply for an SB 14 is greater than the cost of traveling to a polling place?
- MR. KEISTER: Objection; form.
 - A. That's not something I spoke to in my report.
 - Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) But based on your knowledge as a social scientist and what we just discussed, would you describe that statement as accurate?
- MR. KEISTER: Objection; form.
 - A. Based on the diagram that you've presented, costs, in terms of travel time, would look to be greater, on average.
- Q. (BY MR. FREEMAN) Would you agree that there are education costs for an individual to

293 1 determine the requirements to apply for an EIC? 2 By education costs you mean of acquiring 3 information? 4 Ο. Yes. 5 There could be. Α. 6 Would you agree that some individuals may Q. 7 need to travel to obtain other documents necessary 8 to apply for an EIC? 9 MR. KEISTER: Objection; form. Calls 10 for speculation. 11 I believe there may be individuals who are 12 in that circumstance. (BY MR. FREEMAN) Let's turn to 13 Ο. Paragraph 151 of your report. 14 You state that several recent studies 15 report that overall voter turnout rates are either 16 17 unaffected or there are no statistically significant 18 difference, or positively affected by State voter ID 19 laws. Correct? 20 I'm sorry, Paragraph 151? Α. 21 151. Ο. 22 "However, several recent studies," yes. Α. 23 Which studies do you rely upon for the 0. 24 notion that overall voter turnout rates are

positively affected by State voter ID laws?

```
294
 1
         Α.
              There's several studies here, so we would
 2
    have to pull them out. But the statement is either
 3
    unaffected or positively affected.
 4
              And I'm asking based on the studies you
         O.
 5
    cited, which of those studies indicate a positive
 6
    effect?
 7
              I would have to look back at the Mycoff
         Α.
 8
    and the Loraca [phonetic] papers.
9
             You say in your report -- excuse me.
         Q.
10
                   You cite an article by Alvarez,
11
    Bailey, and Katz, a working paper, is that correct,
12
    for the notion that there's mixed evidence regarding
13
    any different effect of State voter ID laws on black
14
    and Hispanic voters?
15
              Is this footnote 109?
         A.
16
             I'm looking at footnote 113 and 109 as
         0.
17
    well. Yes, footnote 109, the last citation.
18
             I see where they're cited.
         A.
19
                   MR. FREEMAN: Mark this as
20
    Exhibit 16.
21
                   (Exhibit Number 16 marked.)
22
             (BY MR. FREEMAN) Turn to page 18, please.
         0.
23
    Would you agree that Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz finds
24
    that the probability of voting decreases as voter ID
25
    regimes become more strict, both for white and
```

```
295
1
   nonwhite respondents?
2
        A.
             Actually, they impose a restriction on the
3
   data estimate. So this is not as transparent in the
4
   diagram here as you're representing. And you can
5
   sort of look at it and see that there may be
6
   nonlinear effects.
        Q.
7
             But would you agree that both lines have a
8
   negative slope for both white and nonwhite
9
   respondents?
        A.
10
             In the figures that they publish in this
11
   report, it looks like both lines have a negative
12
   slope.
13
             Please look at the block quote in
         Ο.
   Paragraph 151 of your report. It's actually on the
14
15
   next page from where you were.
16
                   You rely on this working paper for
17
   the notion that controlling for education and
    income, Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz did not see an
18
19
   effect on voter ID laws by race. Correct?
20
              Where are you pointing here on 151?
        Α.
21
              The block quotes.
         0.
22
             The block quote.
         Α.
23
             It's on the next page. It's still part of
        Q.
24
   that paragraph.
25
                  You rely on Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz
```

```
296
1
   for the notion that controlling for education and
   income, they did not see an effect in voter ID laws
2
3
   by race.
             Correct?
4
              That's correct.
        A.
5
              Turn to page 19 of Exhibit 16.
         Q.
                   Would you agree, first, that the
6
7
   sentence at the top of page 19 is not the same as
8
   the sentence in your report, that the quotation in
9
   your report is not accurate?
              I believe you have a different version of
10
         Α.
11
   the report than what I cite.
12
              This is the 2008 working paper.
         Ο.
13
              I believe it says Version 2 on it. And
         Α.
14
   what I cite doesn't say Version 2.
15
              Okay. Am I correct that there's no effect
         Q.
   on race only if you control for education and
16
17
   income, however?
18
              In which specification?
         Α.
19
              In Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz.
         Q.
20
              In which specification? They run many
         Α.
21
   different statistical tests.
22
              Well, with regard to what you quoted in
         0.
23
   your report.
24
              Can we see the report that I quoted?
         Α.
25
         Q.
              I'm afraid it appears that you're stating
```

```
297
    that I have a different version of your report, and
 1
 2
    I don't know what version you cited to.
                                              If there
 3
    are multiple versions, I apologize for that.
 4
                   If you can -- if you can turn to page
 5
    21 of the working paper that we have here, the
 6
    Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz.
 7
              This one?
         Α.
 8
         Q.
              Yes, page 21. Would you agree that this
 9
    states that at the individual level, voter
    identification requirements, that the strictest
10
11
    forms - combination requirements of presenting
12
    identification and matching signatures, as well as
   photo identification requirements - have a negative
13
14
    impact on voter participation relative to the
15
    weakest requirement of stating one's name?
16
              That looks to be a verbatim reading of
         Α.
17
   what they state here.
18
             Would you also agree that at the very
19
   bottom of that page, it states, However, we do not
20
   find -- or we do find that for registered voters
21
   with lower levels of educational attainment, or
22
   lower income, stricter voter identification
23
   requirements do lead to lower turnout?
24
              I believe that is a verbatim reading of
25
   what they state in this report.
```

- 1 Do you know if education and income levels 0. are similar between racial groups in Texas or if 2
- 3 Anglos, in fact, have higher levels of education and
- 4 income than minority Texans?
- 5 I believe I have seen evidence from some **A**.
- 6 of the expert reports that would suggest differences
- 7 in socioeconomic status.
- 8 Q. So, yes, there are differences and Anglos
- 9 have higher socioeconomic status, on average, in
- 10 Texas?

- 11 That is my understanding. A.
- 12 Do you know if a subsequent version of Ο. 13 Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz was published?
- 14 You know, they published a methodological Α. 15 note in a journal called Political Analysis that 16 incorporates some of the material here.
- 17 Let's mark that as Exhibit 17 and we'll Q. 18 know we have the same thing.
 - (Exhibit Number 17 marked.)
- 20 Ο. (BY MR. FREEMAN) Please turn to page 28. 21 Would you agree, looking at pages 28 and 29, that
- 22 Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz applied two different
- models to assess the impact of the strictness of 23
- 24 voter ID regimes on the probability of voting? 25
 - Α. I would need to refresh my memory about

- this particular study. Do you want to point me to the two particular models that you have in mind?
 - Q. Well, Figure 2 and Figure 3.
- A. Can you point me to the equations of the description of the model?
- Q. I believe the models are laid out on pages 21 through 23. And if you'd like to take a break to review that, we certainly can.
- A. I can look at it right now. 21 through 23. These are the general models. I'm talking about the particular application. That's different across these two specifications. But I can look at the diagram.
- Q. Would you agree that applying both models, Alvarez, Bailey, and Katz found a large and statistically significant negative effect for a photo ID-required voter ID regime?
- A. I'm looking at the error bounds on photo ID required in Figure 1. And, again, as I recall this method, they force a -- they force an ordering relationship among these. So this is not an analysis that is similar to the typical kind of, say, regression-based estimate. This is why it's published as a methodological note, this empirical datas approach.

```
300
 1
                   So they're imposing an assumption
 2
    about the relationship on the data that forces this
 3
    kind of ordering. So that's one concern about this
 4
    study.
 5
              If you have concerns about the study,
         Ο.
 6
    let's move on, then. That's fine.
 7
                   (Exhibit Number 18 marked.)
 8
             (BY MR. FREEMAN) I've marked this as
        Q.
9
    Exhibit 18. Is this the article by Mycoff, Wagner,
10
    and Wilson that you cite in your report?
11
             I believe this is the article.
        A.
12
              If you could turn to page 5 of the
         0.
13
    exhibit, Footnote 1. It's page 125 of the journal,
14
    fifth page of the exhibit, Footnote 1 and note 1.
15
                   Would you agree that Mycoff, Wagner,
16
    and Wilson wrote that one can, however, reasonably
17
    conclude that those without identification will be
18
   less likely to vote?
             That is a verbatim reading of the last
19
         A.
20
    sentence of Footnote 1.
21
             Do you have any reason to disagree with
         0.
22
    that statement under a photographic voter ID regime?
23
         A.
              Do I have any reason?
24
             Yes. That all else held equal,
         Q.
25
    individuals without ID will be less likely to vote
```

```
301
1
   under a photo voter ID regime?
2
              Well, the question is, if I have any
        A.
3
   reason, then yes.
4
              What is that reason?
        O.
5
         A.
             Well, I have concerns about the ways in
   which the treatment effects of voter ID laws on
6
7
   voter turnout have been estimated in the extant
8
   literature.
9
              Have you -- you've published your own
         0.
10
    study on the treatment effect of voter ID laws.
11
   Correct?
12
         Α.
              Long ago. We looked at that policy
13
   report.
14
              But it wasn't published in a -- in a
         Ο.
15
   peer-review journal. Correct?
16
         Α.
              That's correct.
17
              And it showed a before and after look at
18
    Indiana's photographic voter ID law. Is that
19
   correct?
20
              It did.
         Α.
21
              And it looked at 2002 and 2006 election
         0.
22
   data?
23
         Α.
              It did.
24
              What is a historical confound?
         Q.
25
         Α.
              I know what confounding means. You're
```

```
302
1
   using a particular term of art that -- I don't know
2
   that I've used that description. Do you want to
3
   give me a synonym?
4
                   MR. KEISTER: Counsel, we've passed
5
   seven hours, so if you want to wrap up this last
6
   question.
7
                                 Counsel, we've wasted
                   MR. FREEMAN:
8
   many hours based on the dilatory --
9
                   MR. POSNER: We should probably
   discuss this off the record.
10
11
                   (Discussion off the record.)
12
                   MR. FREEMAN: I'm going to state on
13
   the record that the dilatory practices of this
14
   witness have wasted an incredible amount of time in
15
   this deposition, and the refusal to answer basic
   questions have wasted multiple hours.
16
                   Moreover, the Rules clearly
17
18
   contemplate that in depositions where there are
19
   multiple parties or a particular witness addresses
20
   numerous issues, that the parties should be free to
21
   agree to a longer period of time.
22
                   I'm going to specifically request, as
23
   a courtesy to counsel who has waited on the phone,
24
   that at a minimum, we give ten to 15 minutes to that
25
   counsel so that she will have an opportunity to ask
```

```
303
1
   her questions.
2
                   However, I will request to leave my
3
   own questioning open. And I will be going to the
4
   Court with this.
5
                   MR. KEISTER:
                                 Okay.
6
                   MR. FREEMAN:
                                 Because there's
7
   absolutely no way that we should be limiting this
8
   particular deposition, given the conduct that has
9
   occurred here, to seven hours.
10
                   I would specifically request that we
11
   allow counsel who is on the phone to get her 15
12
   minutes as a professional courtesy, as a separate
13
   matter. I think that that's a reasonable thing.
14
                   MR. ROSENBERG: And we obviously
15
   support this. I think it was clear, and if anyone,
16
   particularly a judge looks at the transcript of what
17
   occurred here, I think that there will be very
18
   little doubt that this deposition will be continued.
19
                   But I certainly urge you to allow
   counsel who has been on the phone to take her 15
20
21
   minutes and ask the questions.
22
                   MR. KEISTER: Let me just state, I
23
   disagree with your characterization. I think
24
   Dr. Milyo has answered the questions that's come to
25
   him fully and accurately.
```

```
304
1
                   And as much as I normally would agree
2
   with professional courtesy, we've all got to get to
3
   Corpus Christi and I'm going to call this
4
   deposition. So that's -- I'm sorry, but --
5
                                 Mr. Keister, I --
                   MR. FREEMAN:
6
                   MR. KEISTER: I'm sorry, I've got to
7
   go.
8
                   MR. POSNER: Well, before -- I don't
9
   know --
10
                   MR. KEISTER: That's it. We're going
11
   to read and sign. We're done.
12
                   MR. POSNER:
                                The person on the phone
13
   would like to speak.
14
                                 The person on the phone
                   MR. KEISTER:
15
   can speak, but I'm calling the depo at seven hours.
16
                   MS. FARANSSO: Yeah, I would just
17
   reiterate what Mr. Freeman said, and say that we
18
   would like to reserve our opportunity to ask
19
   questions at a later time.
20
                                Mr. Keister --
                   MR. FREEMAN:
21
                   MR. KEISTER:
                                I'm sorry.
                                              I've got to
22
        I've got stuff to do.
   go.
23
                                We all have stuff to
                   MR. FREEMAN:
24
         I understand that. However, I don't think you
   do.
25
   can deny that there are basic, simple questions that
```

```
305
   this witness has refused to answer in a direct
1
2
   manner.
3
                   MR. KEISTER:
                                 No, I --
4
                   MR. FREEMAN: And that that has
5
   wasted an incredible quantity of time. We are going
6
   to waste time here.
7
                   MR. KEISTER: I don't agree with
8
   that. But, guys, I'm not --
9
                   MR. FREEMAN: Do you want this record
10
   read to the Judge?
11
                   MR. KEISTER: Yes.
                                       I'm not going to
12
   change my opinion. I'm going home. I've got to
13
   pack, I've got to take dogs to the kennel. I've got
14
   to get ready for tomorrow's hearings.
15
                   We've done seven hours. It's been
   fun, it's been full. He's answered every question
16
17
   that's come to him, and we're off the record.
18
   read and sign.
                  Thank you.
19
                                 Tania, I personally,
                   MR. FREEMAN:
20
   deeply apologize for what's happened.
21
                   MS. FARANSSO:
                                  I appreciate it.
22
   Thank you, Dan.
23
                   MR. ROSENBERG: We're off the record.
24
                   (Deposition adjourned at 6:30 p.m.)
25
                            -000-
```

		306
1	CHANGES AND SIGNATURE	
2	RE: PEREZ v. PERRY	
3	WITNESS: JEFFREY MILYO, PhD	
4	PAGE/LINE CHANGE REASON	
5		-
6		-
7		-
8		-
9		-
10		_
11		-
12		-
13		-
14		-
15		-
16		-
17		
18		
19		-
20	I, JEFFREY MILYO, PhD, have read the	
21	foregoing deposition and hereby affix my signatur	·e
22	that same is true and correct, except as noted	
23	above.	
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307 1 REPORTER'S CERTIFICATE 2 STATE OF TEXAS 3 McLENNAN COUNTY § 4 I, Melody Reneé Campbell, Certified Shorthand 5 Reporter in and for the State of Texas, do hereby 6 certify that the foregoing deposition is a full, 7 true and correct transcript; 8 That JEFFREY MILYO, PhD, the witness 9 hereinbefore named, was duly sworn by the officer 10 and that the oral deposition was taken by the 11 officer in machine shorthand on AUGUST 26, 2014, and 12 is a true record of the testimony given by the 13 witness; 14 I further certify that the signature of the 15 deponent was requested and is to be returned within 16 30 days from date of receipt of the transcript. Ιf 17 returned, the attached Changes and Signature Page 18 contains any changes and the reasons therefor; That \$ ____ is the deposition 19 20 officer's charges for preparing the original 21 deposition transcript and any copies of exhibits, 22 charged to THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; 23 I further certify that I am neither counsel 24 for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties 25 in the action in which this proceeding was taken,

and further that I am not financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of the action. Subscribed and sworn to on this the 28th day of AUGUST, 2014. RENÉÉ CAMPBELL, RMR, CRR, #38267 U.S. LEGAL SUPPORT, INC. CRCB Firm Registration Number 344 701 Brazos, Suite 380 Austin, Texas 512.292.4249 512.292.3866 (Fax) JOB NO. 4-AUSTIN-168243

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U.S. LEGAL SUPPORT - AUSTIN, TEXAS (800) 734-4995

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS CORPUS CHRISTI DIVISION

:

IN THE MATTER OF:

MARC VEASEY, et al.,

Plaintiffs, : Civil Action No.

: 2:13-cv-00193

v.

RICK PERRY, et al.,

Defendants. :

eremaanes.

Thursday,
July 17, 2014

Washington, D.C.

DEPOSITION OF:

MICHAEL L. MIMS

called for examination by Counsel for the State of Texas, pursuant to Notice of Deposition, in the offices of the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, located at 1800 G Street, NW, Washington, D.C., when were present on behalf of the respective parties:

16 14 The place of birth was Pensacola, 1 Informatics and Analytics in April of 2012, which 1 2 Florida. Date of birth is November 17, 1962. 2 is my current position as Program Manager for the 3 And, Mr. Mims, could you briefly 3 Health Care Identity Management Team. 4 describe your educational background? Q And you currently hold that position. 5 A I have a Bachelor of Science from the 5 Correct? 6 University of Florida in Computer Information 6 Α Yes. 7 Science. 7 Q And, I'm sorry, could you state the 8 Q Are those undergraduate degrees? 8 title of that position one more time? 9 9 Program Manager, Health Care Identity Α 10 Q Do you hold any kind of post-graduate 10 Management. 11 degree? 11 And in your role as Program Manager, 12 12 the role you currently hold, what are your Α No. 13 Do you hold any kind of professional 13 official duties and responsibilities? Q qualifications or certifications? 14 My duties are to insure the 14 A I have a Project Management, what do 15 maintenance and validation of the data that's 15 16 I call it? I'm a Certified Project Manager as 16 maintained within the Master Veteran Index, or 17 awarded by VA. 17 MVI. 18 18 Q And by VA you mean the -Is that your primary responsibility? Q 19 Veterans -19 Yes. Α Α 20 Q - Veterans Administration? 20 Q Who do you report to? 21 I report to Marcia Insley. 21 Α Yes. Α 22 Q 22 Q And do you manage anyone below you? And when were you awarded that 23 certification? 23 Yes, I have a team of approximately 31 24 A I was first awarded it approximately 24 federal employees that work with me in the 25 eight years ago. 25 maintenance and validation of our data within the 15 17 1 MVI. Mr. Mims, are you currently employed? 1 Q 2 2 Q And are all those employees specially Α 3 Q And who is your employer? 3 trained to perform those functions? 4 Department of Veterans Affairs. 4 Α Yes. 5 And how long have you been an employee 5 0 Do you train them yourself? 6 with the Department of Veterans Affairs? 6 Α 7 Since April of '87, which is 7 Q How do they receive their training? We have designated individuals who 8 approximately 27 years. 8 9 And could you tell me what positions 9 have been trained and who provide that training 10 you've held at the Department of Veterans Affairs 10 to the staff as they come on board. 11 starting with the first day of your employment up 11 Do you receive periodic training in Q 12 to today? 12 this field? 13 Do I, myself? 13 The first day of my employment I was Α 14 a Computer Specialist working at a medical center 14 0 Yes. 15 supporting the Information Resources Management 15 Α What do you mean? 16 Office. Following that, I moved to the 16 Well, you mentioned that your 17 Information Service Center as it was called then 17 employees receive training regarding data and 18 under the Office of Information Technology, where 18 updating it, and everything you just described. 19 I'm asking you if you receive similar training on 19 I worked as a programmer on the pharmacy 20 applications for a very long time, until 20 a periodic or regular basis? 21 approximately 2000, or approximately 1998 when I 21 Not formal training, but I do see the 22 became a Project Manager. I was a Project Manager 22 documents and the training materials that they 23 for approximately three years until I became a 23 are provided, but I do not participate in that 24 Program Manager on or around 2003. I remained in 24 training. 25 that role until I joined the Office of 25 Mr. Mims, does your work require you

18 20 1 to regularly work with information databases? Okay. Have you turned to page 5? A Not directly. As I said, I supervise 2 3 the employees that actually do the maintenance 3 Q Okay. On page 5 you will see a heading 4 and validation of these databases. 4 that says, "Matters," and it's followed by a Q Okay. So you, yourself, don't actually series of numbered paragraphs from 1 to 6. Do you 6 work with the data and the various databases. see those paragraphs? 7 Your employees do that under your supervision. Is 7 Yes. Α 8 that correct? 8 Q Paragraph 1 states, "Any and all 9 9 databases in the possession, custody, or control A That is correct. Q And in that work that you all do with 10 10 of the Department of Veterans Affairs used to 11 databases, do you all regularly conduct matches 11 conduct a match with any database produced by the 12 in which you compare information in one database 12 defendants in this lawsuit." Is that an accurate 13 to information in another? 13 reading of that topic? 14 14 That is exactly what it says. A Yes. 15 15 Q And about how long have you all been Mr. Mims, are you aware that you've 16 doing such work? 16 been designated by the Department of Veterans 17 A This team has been doing such work 17 Affairs to testify on its behalf and give 18 since the MVI was created back - I do not 18 truthful and binding answers on its behalf 19 remember the date, but it was back some time in 19 regarding that topic? 20 the 1990s is when the Master Veteran Index was 20 Α 21 originally established. 21 Q And are you prepared to testify on 22 MR. TATUM: Okay. Sam, if you would, 22 Topic 1? 23 please locate the Second Amended Notice and mark 23 Α I am. 24 it as Exhibit 1, and offer it to the witness, 24 0 Mr. Mims, Topic 2 says, "With regard 25 please. 25 to a database described in Matter 1 above, any 19 21 (Whereupon, the above-referred to 1 fields containing the same types of identifying 1 2 information found in the Texas Election 2 document was marked as Exhibit 1 for 3 identification.) 3 Administration Management System (TEAM) database 4 THE WITNESS: Thank you. 4 that was produced by the defendant in his 5 COURT REPORTER: They have the exhibit. 5 lawsuit." Is that an accurate reading of that 6 topic? 6 BY MR. TATUM: 7 Okay. Mr. Mims, if you would please 7 Α Yes. 8 looking at the first page of the document that's Is it your understanding that you've 9 been designated by the Department of Veterans 9 just been handed to you, would you read the text 10 in the middle of the page that is in bold capital 10 Affairs to testify and give truthful and binding 11 letters and underlined, please? 11 answers on its behalf regarding that topic? 12 12 Α "Defendants' Second Amended Notice of Yes. 13 Intention to Take Oral Deposition of the United 13 Q And are you prepared to testify to 14 States Department of Veterans Affairs." 14 that topic? 15 15 Q Mr. Mims, have you seen this document Α Yes. 16 before? 16 Q Mr. Mims, Topic 3 says, "With regard 17 Α I do not believe so. 17 to a database described in Matter 1 above, the Q If you would please, Mr. Mims, turn to 18 frequency and process by which such a database is 18 19 maintained and updated." Is that an accurate 19 page 5 of that document. A Wait, I have seen this before. I'm 20 reading of that topic? 20 21 21 sorry. I saw it just prior to this meeting. I was Α Yes. 22 22 given it just prior to this meeting. Q Mr. Mims, are you aware that eight 23 Q Okay. And was that the first time that 23 minutes prior to the start of this deposition the 24 you had seen this document? 24 Department of Veterans Affairs produced a written 25 25 response to this topic? Α Yes.

30	32
1 of that is subject to the attorney/client	1 A Yes, I do.
2 privilege, is subject to the law enforcement	2 Q And what is this document?
3 privilege, the investigatory privileges, and all	This is the declaration describing the
4 other sorts of government privileges; it could	4 data and the process to be used in performing the
5 be, in any event. So, we would direct the witness	5 matching.
6 consistent with all of those issues, the scope,	6 Q If you would please turn to the page
7 and the privileges, not to answer the question.	7 - I don't know if our copy has numbers on it.
8 MR. TATUM: Thank you for listing the	8 Mine does not, I apologize. Could you turn to the
9 privileges. I would just reiterate for the record	9 page that has one paragraph on it, and that's
10 that requesting or instructing a witness not to	10 paragraph 11, about five or six pages in.
11 answer a question based on the objection that	
12 it's beyond the scope of the request, that is an	Okay. Do you see a signature on that
13 improper instruction. So, to the extent that	13 page?
14 you're instructing him not to answer, on that	14 A Yes, I do.
15 objection I would just state for the record that	(15) Q Is that your signature?
16 I believe that's an improper instruction.	(16) A (Yes, it is.)
17 MR. HEARD: I understand your position.	(17) Q Did you assist in the preparation of
18 MR. TATUM: I think we understand each	18 this document?
19 other, so we'll move on.	(19) A What did you mean when you say
20 BY MR. TATUM:	20 "assist?"
21 Q Mr. Mims, could you briefly summarize	Q Did you help compile the information
22 the match that you conducted in this case?	22 contained in this document, or did you actually
23 A What do you mean?	23 write what's in this document yourself?
24 Q I mean, that DVA conducted a match in	24 A No.
25 this case. I'm asking you to briefly summarize	25 MR. HEARD: That's a compound question.
	i i
31	33
1 the process of conducting that match.	1 I'll just object to that.
1 the process of conducting that match.2 A Okay. We received the TEAM database,	I'll just object to that. MR. TATUM: Okay. I'll separate those
 the process of conducting that match. A Okay. We received the TEAM database, we loaded it into an area that we had available 	I'll just object to that. MR. TATUM: Okay. I'll separate those questions.
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 the process of conducting that match. A Okay. We received the TEAM database, we loaded it into an area that we had available to us where we could establish a flat file containing the Texas database, pull in the 	1 I'll just object to that. 2 MR. TATUM: Okay. I'll separate those 3 questions. 4 BY MR. TATUM: 5 Q Mr. Mims, did you write any of the
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34 36 1 in the compiling or drafting of this document at And where was that information Q 2 all. Is that correct? uploaded? 3 A That is correct. Α Into a database housed at the Austin 4 Could you please turn to the page that Automation Center. 5 has Paragraph 3 on the top of it, and let me know Is that in Austin, Texas? 6 6 when you're there. Yes, in Austin, Texas. 7 7 And, Mr. Mims, I don't believe I asked Α I have it in front of me. 8 Okay. Could you tell me what generally 8 you before, where is your office? 9 9 My office is in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Paragraph 3 describes? 10 Paragraph 3 describes the receipt of 10 Were you present in Austin when the 11 the hard drive containing the data from data file described in Paragraph 3 was delivered 12 Department of Justice. It describes the size of 12 or uploaded? 13 the data, the number of records contained in the 13 Α No. 14 data, what the data is. It also describes an 14 Does Paragraph 4 right below that 15 describe the data that was in the file delivered 15 issue that we had where the data originally 16 received was corrupted, and describes another 16 by Department of Justice? 17 copy of that data being sent to VA that was not 17 Yes. 18 corrupted. 18 And it's described as different fields Q 19 Okay. Could you tell me exactly how 19 of data. Correct? 20 that hard drive was delivered to DVA? 20 Α Yes. 21 I'm not sure what you mean. 21 Q Looking on the column on the left if 22 How did DVA obtain possession of the 22 you go down towards the bottom there begins a Q 23 hard drive described there? 23 series of entries of capital letters, the first 24 A It was delivered to one of the VA's 24 one being AGDN. Do you see that? 25 representatives who loaded - who received the 25 Α Yes. 35 37 1 data and then loaded it into our system. Can you tell me what those letters and combinations represent? 2 And do you remember who that DVA 3 representative was? I cannot tell you specifically what 4 4 AGDN is. I don't have that information in front Α I do not. 5 So, it was delivered to a of me. 6 representative. Did that same representative also 6 Q Do you know what general purpose those 7 upload the information that's described in that 7 fields serve? paragraph? This was the combination - the data 8 9 Α I do not know. 9 set up in combination as described in the process 10 That paragraph describes that the file 10 for us to use in doing the matching with the 11 was corrupted in the process of being loaded. 11 various data fields that concatenated together 12 Could you tell me in what way it was corrupted? 12 for the various combinations of data to be used. A I can't describe what the corruption Can you tell me with regard to these 13 13 14 was. All I can say is that it was - we were 14 fields listed here, can you tell me how the DVA 15 unable to read the data on that drive when it was 15 used these fields during the matching process? 16 received. Well, for each one of these 16 17 Q So, did you request that the 17 combinations which these signify we developed a 18 Department of Justice send you another copy of 18 similar combination based on data extracted from 19 that data? 19 our Master Veteran Index to do the comparison and 20 20 the matching of the Texas data to the data within Α And when you received the copy of the 21 our MVI. 21 22 data there was no problem loading it, it was not 22 Q And did you use all of the fields 23 corrupted, and that information was uploaded. 23 listed under Topic 4, or under Paragraph 4 during 24 Correct? 24 that match? 25 Correct. 25 No, we did not use all of the fields. Α

38 40 Why did you use some fields, but not And can you tell me what DVA databases Q 1 2 others? were used to conduct the match in this case? 3 Α We used the fields that were specified 3 We used data from the VA's 4 in that various combinations which we were asked 4 Administrative Data Repository or ADR. There's to do the matching on. 5 two sources of data that we used within that 5 6 Q And with those matches on those 6 database, one being the Master Veteran Index 7 combinations, did you run those pursuant to the 7 containing the identity information. The other is 8 matching protocol that's attached as an exhibit data from an enrollment file which contains the 9 to this document? 9 address information that was used for the 10 A Yes, we did the matching exactly as 10 matching. 11 was described later in this document. 11 Q So, how many total databases of DVA 12 When you all received the data on the 12 were used? 13 file that was delivered from the Department of 13 Α Two. 14 Justice, what were you told that that data 14 And did you run separate independent 15 represented? 15 matches for each database, or was there one match 16 We were told it was a copy of the 16 in process that incorporated both of those 17 Texas TEAM database, specific data elements from 17 databases? 18 18 it, that it contained the different combinations There was one matching process that 19 of those data elements that we were to use in the 19 used data from both the MVI and from the 20 matching 20 enrollment files. 21 When the file was uploaded and the 21 Okay. So, the data in those two Q 22 information displayed in whatever form it was 22 databases, those two DVA databases that you 23 displayed in, was there anything there to described, those were compiled into kind of one 24 indicate that this came from only the TEAM 24 - well, let me back up. 25 database? 25 So, just to confirm you didn't run one 39 41 1 match with the Texas data and the - and one of Α No. 1 2 Okay. So, the only - is it true that 2 the DVA databases, and then run another match 3 the only way that you know that this came from 3 with the other DVA database. There was just one 4 the TEAM database is because that's what the 4 match conducted between the Texas database and 5 Department of Justice told you when they information contained in both of the DVA 6 delivered the hard drive? 6 databases. Is that correct? 7 Α Yes. 7 Α Yes So, to the best of your knowledge the And please correct me if I'm wrong in 8 Q 8 information contained in the file is only from 9 describing any of these technical aspects of this 10 the TEAM database, and not from any other 10 matching -11 database from the State of Texas. 11 Well, let me back up. It may be 12 Α Yes. 12 considered just one database, the ADR, the 13 When you all received the data file 13 Administrative Data Repository, but there were 14 did the DVA do anything to clean up that data, or 14 data elements required for the matching that came 15 from two files within that database. It really -15 rearrange it in any way necessary? MR. HEARD: Objection; vague, but you 16 16 sorry. 17 can answer. 17 0 No, that's okay. Go ahead. 18 THE WITNESS: No. 18 No, it just kind of depends on how you Α 19 BY MR. TATUM: 19 define - how you're looking at a database 20 So, you all took the information as it 20 itself. 21 appeared in the file and used it during the 21 Q Okay. So, is it possible then that one 22 matching process in exactly the way that you were 22 database, such as the ADR, contains separate 23 told to by the Department of Justice in the 23 databases within it? 24 24 matching protocol. Is that correct? It could be considered that, yes. 25 Α Yes. 25 MR. TATUM: Did I just hear a cow moo?

42 44 MS. BALDWIN: Or a Blackberry. 1 make it work within our environment, but did not 1 2 MR. HEARD: Or a Blackberry that sounds 2 change anything that would have affected the 3 like a cow. 3 matching or the logic contained in those models. 4 MR. TATUM: Okay. Sorry, I just want to Q So, you followed the model codes 5 make sure everything is all right over there. 5 provided by the Department of Justice in - I'm 6 sorry. How exactly did you use those model codes 6 BY MR. TATUM: 7 Okay. So, the ADR database that was 7 that you just referenced that were provided by 8 used to conduct this match contained within it 8 the Department of Justice? 9 kind of two sources of information. Correct? A We used that model code to do the 10 A Yes. It contains the two sources that 10 actual matching. There were some syntactic 11 were used in this exercise. 11 changes that we had to make as far as the basic Q And in the matching protocol provided 12 structure of those models to work within our 12 13 by the Department of Justice, did they instruct 13 environment. But those changes were very, very 14 you how to compile information from those two 14 minor and did not affect the logic that was 15 sources within the ADR? 15 proposed within that model, or those models. 16 A They gave us very detailed Q Could the matching process have been 17 instructions as far as how these various 17 conducted without making those syntactic changes? 18 combinations were to be assembled, and from that A Not with the tools that we had 18 19 we determined which information should come from 19 available for our use. 20 the MVI, and which should come from the Q Have you ever had to make similar 21 enrollment files. 21 syntactic changes for other matches before? 22 Both of which are under the ADR. 22 MR. HEARD: Objection; vague. Q 23 THE WITNESS: Yes, that's a fairly 23 Correct? 24 Α Yes. 24 common occurrence, because you have different 25 Okay. Once you determined what 25 versions of the SQL environment that you're Q 43 45 1 information from those two files within the ADR. 1 using, and those sorts of things that require 2 once you determined what information from those 2 some minor tuning of those to work within that 3 two files needed to be used during this match, 3 environment. 4 how did you go about extracting that information 4 BY MR. TATUM: 5 and putting it into a form where it was ready for And who makes the ultimate decision 6 with regard to any minor tuning that needs to 6 the matching process? 7 We extracted the pertinent pieces of 7 take place when conducting a match? 8 information from the database. It's an Oracle 8 MR. HEARD: Again, objection; vague. 9 THE WITNESS: The specialists who I had 9 database that ADR is housed in. We extracted that 10 data both from MVI and from the enrollment files 10 assigned to perform the actual matching, those 11 into a flat file. Then we loaded it into a SQL 11 two individuals proposed the changes and did make 12 server database which we use SQL code to do the 12 those changes. 13 actual matching of these various combinations. 13 BY MR. TATUM: I'm sorry. Did you say SQL code? 14 And did they make those changes 14 15 according to any kind of protocol, or guidelines, 15 Α Yes. It's S-Q-L, Structured Query 16 or internal rules that govern that kind of thing 16 Language, I'm sorry. Q Thank you. And at any point during the 17 at the DVA? 18 A They made those changes in 18 process that you've described up to this point, 19 was it necessary for DVA to create its own 19 conjunction, or in line with the syntax required 20 program in order to conduct the match according 20 with our SQL, SQL server environment. 21 to the matching protocol provided by the 21 So, they presented those changes to 22 Department of Justice? 22 you and you approved them, and then they were A We used the model, code models that 23 executed. Is that correct? 24 24 the Department of Justice provided for us. We did MR. HEARD: Objection; misstates his 25 have to make some minor changes syntactically to 25 testimony.

50 52 1 in a name. Would that also include like dashes MR. TATUM: And I'm having - if any of 2 in a birth date? You know, for example, someone's 2 my questions aren't making sense please just let 3 birth date may be, you know, 1-1-82, and in 3 me know. 4 another database that would be written as 1/1/82, THE WITNESS: I am certain that our 5 something like that. Is that an example of a 5 staff had taken a small subset and maybe a couple 6 formatting issue that you all encountered in 6 of entries and run through the algorithm to make 7 conducting the matching process in this case? 7 sure everything was syntactically correct, that 8 The instructions laid our specific 8 there were no syntax errors, or errors in 9 requirements for how those - each of those data 9 compilation of the data prior to running the main 10 fields should be structured. One of those 10 matching process. 11 requirements was the removal of any dashes or 11 BY MR. TATUM: 12 that sort of information from the date of birth 12 In conducting the matching process 13 field, for example. So, what we - the only 13 according to the protocols, did you encounter any 14 changes we made were to structure the data to be 14 kind of problems or errors that needed to be 15 addressed? 15 used in this matching to match what was specified 16 within the instructions we were given. 16 MR. HEARD: Objection; vague, but you 17 Okay. And with regard to all those 17 can answer. 18 18 changes that you were directed to make, did you THE WITNESS: Of course, we had the 19 run any kind of tests or trial runs to insure 19 initial problem with the corruption of the data 20 that those instructions had been followed and 20 that we received initially. Beyond that, I do not 21 that the matching process would work according to 21 know of any significant issues that we had once 22 the protocol? 22 we had the correct data in the correct format. I 23 We did do reviews to make sure that 23 don't know of any issues that we had with the 24 the data had been structured as specified. 24 data, or the system in doing the matching. 25 Q And did you conduct any kind of tests 25 BY MR. TATUM: 51 53 1 or trial runs to make sure that the match would Q In uploading, you mentioned a be conducted in accordance with those 2 corrupted file. In uploading the Texas data in 3 instructions? 3 preparation for the matching process, do you 4 A I'm - could - what do you mean by 4 think anything occurred that might possibly have 5 altered that data? "trial run?" 6 Q In other words, if you're required to 6 Α No. 7 format the DVA's data in a way so that it could 7 Q In preparing the data from the DVA 8 be accurately matched with the Texas data, did 8 databases for the matching process, anything 9 occur that might have altered that data? 9 you do anything to insure that the way that you 10 formatted the DVA data would actually match or 10 Α No. 11 not match with the Texas data accurately? And during the matching process itself 12 12 did you encounter any issues, errors, or problems We ran processes that would make sure, 13 that may have altered the data, or the results 13 for example, that the dashes had been removed 14 therefrom? 14 from the data, as expected, to make sure that it 15 A 15 did match what was specified within the No. 16 instructions. 16 Q Mr. Mims, once the matching process 17 Q So, did you run any kind of test run 17 was completed how were the results of that 18 with a, you know, subset of fields or 18 process compiled? 19 information, or combinations within the entire 19 Α What - I'm not sure I understand the 20 matching process, or did you just run the whole 20 question. 21 21 - once you got all the, you know, formatting Once the matching process was 22 changes made did you just run the whole matching 22 completed, in what way did you compile or display 23 process once? 23 the results of that matching process? 24 24 MR. HEARD: I'm going to object to the I'm not sure I understand your 25 form of the question. It's kind of vague. 25 question. Are you - could you please phrase it

62 64 1 or communicate in any way with Lorraine Minnite? 1 the question, and to the scope to the extent it 2 No. You left off in the matching 2 exceeds whether those documents were used in 3 process there, but I'm assuming that was implied. 3 connection with the matching that was performed 4 Yes, it was. Thank you. There are a 4 in this case. You can answer subject to that. 5 lot of names here. 5 THE WITNESS: Not that I'm aware of. 6 6 A I understand. BY MR. TATUM: 7 During the matching process did you or 7 Do you know if any documents or 8 anyone else at the DVA involved in the matched 8 electronically stored information, codes, 9 process receive instruction from or communicate 9 manuals, or software other than anything you've 10 in any way with Kevin Jewell? 10 already mentioned was created specifically to 11 Α No. 11 facilitate the use of DVA databases in this 12 During the matching process did you or 12 matching process? Q 13 anyone else at the DVA involved in the matching 13 Α No. 14 process receive instruction from or communicate 14 Mr. Mims, I believe that's all the 15 in any way with Coleman Bazelon? 15 questions I have for you today. Before I pass the 16 Α No. 16 witness, is there anything with regard to any 17 During the matching process did you or 17 answer you've given today that you'd like to 18 anyone else at the DVA involved in that process 18 clarify or amend? 19 communicate with or receive instruction from 19 Α No. 20 Orville Burton? 20 MR. TATUM: Well, I thank you for your 21 21 patience as I tried to talk about very technical Α No. 22 MR. TATUM: Can we go off record just 22 matters. And with that, I pass the witness. 23 for a quick five minutes? 23 MR. HEARD: Thanks, Stephen. Mr. Mims, 24 MS. BALDWIN: Sure. 24 I just have - I'm, for the record, Bradley Heard 25 MR. HEARD: Okay, that's fine. 25 for the United States. I just have a couple of 63 65 VIDEOGRAPHER: Going off the record at 1 questions on your declaration that's been marked 1 2 13:02. 2 as Defendant's Exhibit 2 in this deposition. 3 (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter 3 CROSS-EXAMINATION 4 BY MR. HEARD: 4 went off the record at 1:04 p.m., and resumed at You indicated that you had signed the 5 1:10 p.m.) 6 deposition on - I'm sorry, the declaration on 6 VIDEOGRAPHER: Going back on the record 7 at 13:09. that page that contains Paragraph 11. Is that 8 correct? 8 BY MR. TATUM: 9 Α 9 Mr. Mims, could you describe for me 10 any documents, electronic information, codes, 10 Prior to signing the document did you 11 manuals or software that facilitated the use of 11 review the document? 12 the databases that were used in this matching 12 Absolutely. 13 Did you review it for accuracy? 13 process? Q 14 14 Used in the matching process, of Α Yes. 15 Q 15 course, we used the declaration that had the Was it, in fact, accurate? 16 16 instructions that described how we were to do the 17 matching process. We used the environment, the 17 Did you understand that you were 18 SQL environment that I described earlier to 18 signing that document stating that it was true 19 and accurate, and under penalty of perjury? 19 actually perform the matching process. I do not 20 know of any other documents that were used to 20 I did. 21 support this. 21 MR. HEARD: Okay, thank you. I have no 22 22 further questions. I think - so, that's all we Does the DVA use its database to 23 preserve any kind of governing software, or code, 23 have, Stephen. 24 24 or manual? MR. TATUM: Okay. Well, I guess that 25 25 concludes this portion of the deposition. How do MR. HEARD: Object to the vagueness of

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                                       IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
                                                                                                                                                                          APPEARANCES (CONT'D)
                                       FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
CORPUS CHRISTI DIVISION
                MARC VEASEY, et al.,
                                                                                                                                                       FOR THE TEXAS STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP AND THE
                                                                                                                                                        MEXICAN AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE CAUCUS:
                           Plaintiffs,
                                                                          CIVIL ACTION
NO. 2:13-CV-348 (NGR)
                VS
                                                                                                                                                             Ms. Jennifer L. Clark (Via Telephone)
                                                                                                                                                            Ms. Myrna Pérez (Via Telephone)
                RICK PERRY, et al.,
                                                                                                                                                            Mr. Vishal Agraharkar (Via Telephone)
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 14
                ORAL DEPOSITION OF MAJOR FORREST MITCHELL, produced as a witness at the instance of the Plaintiff-Intervenors and duly sworn, was taken in the above-styled and numbered cause on August 12, 2014, from 9:11 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., before Jodi Cardenas, RPR, CSR in and for the State of Texas, reported by computerized stenotype machine at the Office of the Attorney General of Texas, 209 West 14th Street, 7th Floor, Austin, Texas, pursuant to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.
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1	MR. DUNBAR: Hi. We're in the middle of a	1	A. Yes, sir.
2	deposition.	2	(Exhibit No. 1 marked)
3	UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE SPEAKER: Yes.	3	Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And I'm now showing you
4	MR. CLAY: Is Ezra on the line?	4	document that has been labeled as Exhibit 1. Do you
5	UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE SPEAKER: I'm sorry	. 5	know what this document is?
6	I don't know. The line was ringing so I picked it up.	6	A. Yes, sir. It appears to be a transcript of the
7	THE REPORTER: Do you want to go off while	7	deposition in the Section Five litigation.
8	we	8	Q. And I believe we've already established, but
9	MR. DUNBAR: Yeah.	9	just so the record is clear, you recall that deposition.
10	(Off the record)	10	Correct?
11	Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) So in preparation for your	11	A. Yes, sir, I do.
12	deposition, just to be clear, have you reviewed any	12	Q. And I also believe that you testified that you
13	expert reports filed by any party in this litigation?	13	reviewed that transcript in preparation for today's
14	A. No, sir.	14	deposition. Is that correct?
15	Q. And did you have any conversations with your	15	A. Yes, sir.
16	staff regarding the topics that you were going to	16	Q. And to the best of your recollection, was your
17	discuss today?	17	deposition testimony in the Section Five litigation
18	A. Yes, sir, I did.	18	truthful and accurate?
19	Q. And who did you speak with about these topics?	19	A. Yes, sir.
20	A. I spoke with my administrative assistant,	20	Q. Do you have any reason to now believe that any
21	Sherry Papke (phonetic), to help me this was months	21	part of your prior deposition testimony was inaccurate
22	ago to get the budget reports on how much the office	22	or incomplete in any way?
23	had spent on Election violations and prosecutions and	23	A. No, sir.
24	investigations.	24	Q. I believe you've also established that you do
25	Q. Okay. And is that the only member of the staff	25	recall that you testified under oath before a
23	Q. Okay. And is that the only member of the stair	23	recan that you testified under oath before a
	14		16
1	that you spoke with about the deposition topics?	1	three-judge panel in the United States for the District
2	A. Probably Tamara Chandler as well, who is our	. 2	of Columbia in that same Section Five case. Is that
3	office manager.	3	correct?
4	Q. And what would what would the nature of that	4	A. Yes, sir.
5	conversation have been?	5	(Exhibit No. 2 marked)
6	A. The same thing	6	Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Major Mitchell, you've now
7	Q. Okay.	7	been handed a document that's been labeled as Exhibit 2.
8	A to prepare the to prepare to get a	8	Do you know what this document is?
9	budget report.	9	A. Yes, sir. This appears to be the transcript
10	Q. Did you have any conversations with anyone else		from the bench trial which occurred in Washington, D.Q
11	outside your office in the Attorney General's office	11	on the Section Five litigation.
12	pertaining to this deposition?	12	Q. And to be clear, it appears to be or it is
13	A. No, sir.	13	your trial testimony. Is that correct?
14	Q. And did you speak with anyone outside the	14	A. Okay. Please give me a moment.
15	Attorney General's office in preparation for or about	15	Q. Absolutely.
16	this deposition?	16	A. Yes, sir, it does.
17	A. No, sir.	17	Q. I believe you testified previously that you
18	Q. And as a just as an aside, at times I might	18	reviewed a transcript of this trial testimony before
19	refer to the Attorney's General's office as OAG in lieu	19	that this deposition. Is that correct?
20	of saying the full name. You understand what I mean?	20	A. Yes, sir.
21	A. Yes, sir.	21	Q. And that testimony was under oath. Correct?
22	Q. Great. Thank you.	22	A. Yes, sir.
23	Now we've already established, I think,	23	Q. Do you have any reason now to believe that any
23 24	•	24	part of your prior trial testimony was inaccurate or
	that you were deposed as a part of the Section Five	25	
25	litigation. Is that correct?	25	incomplete in any way?

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17 19 1 A. No. sir. 1 office, outside of your particular -- outside of SIU, 2 2 Q. After the Section Five trial was over, did you say that you did a good or poor job testifying? 3 3 review your trial testimony at that point in time? MR. CLAY: Again, to the extent that it 4 4 was -- included an attorney, you don't need to answer. A. No, I don't believe so. 5 Q. Did you review the trial testimony of anyone 5 To the extent there was not an attorney, you can answer. 6 6 else in the Section Five case? THE WITNESS: I -- no, not to my memory. 7 7 A. No, sir. Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And in the time period since 8 Q. Were you present live for the testimony of 8 the Section Five litigation, which was July of 2012, 9 other witnesses during the Section Five case? 9 have you had conversation with anyone in the Texas 10 10 Attorney General's office regarding in-person voter A. No, sir. Q. Did you have any discussions with any of the 11 11 fraud? 12 other state's witnesses about their testimony after the 12 MR. CLAY: Same objection. Same 13 13 instruction. Section Five litigation? 14 14 THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. A. No. sir. Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And whom did you speak with? 15 Q. Did you have any conversation with anyone in 15 16 the Texas Attorney General's office after your trial 16 A. Investigators who were assigned to specific 17 testimony in the Section Five case about your testimony? 17 cases as well as, potentially, the captain of the 18 18 A. Yes, sir. special investigations unit, Daniel Guajardo. 19 Q. And whom did you speak with? 19 Q. So all of your conversations -- it sounds to me 20 A. I may have spoken with Patrick Sweeten and then 20 like those conversations would have been limited to 21 Reynolds Brissenden and then colleagues within my 21 discussions about particular cases or allegations or 22 22 investigations of in-person voter fraud? 23 Q. Okay. And the first two gentlemen, I believe, 23 A. Correct. 24 were those your attorneys --24 Q. Did you have any more general discussions with 25 A. Yes, sir. 25 anyone in the Texas Attorney General's office about the 20 18 1 1 Q. -- in the Section Five case? general topic of in-person voter fraud since the --2 2 since your testimony in the Section Five litigation? A. (Witness nods head). 3 Q. And then other than your attorneys that 3 MR. CLAY: Again, the same objection. 4 represented you in that case, do you recall whom in you 4 To the extent it doesn't include an 5 office you spoke with about your testimony? attorney, you can answer. To the extent it includes an 6 6 A. It could have been any of the investigators who attorney, please do not answer. 7 7 worked for me or in my division. Many people had THE WITNESS: I don't specifically recall 8 questions about how it went in Washington, D.C. 8 any conversations. 9 Q. And what did you report? 9 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Okay. And as Reed mentioned 10 MR. CLAY: I'll object to the extent that 10 at the outset, we have reached an agreement with the 11 11 it involves a conversation that includes an attorney. State and the Attorney General's office to rely a lot on 12 12 Any of that would be attorney-client privilege. your old deposition testimony in lieu of retreading old 13 But to the extent that it doesn't, you can 13 ground. And so -- with that in mind, I wanted to ask a 14 14 answer. few questions about your educational and professional 15 15 MR. DUNBAR: Yes. background more in the way of just refreshing the 16 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And to be -- so the record is 16 record. So I'll try and move through it quickly 17 clear, my question at this point is these conversations 17 understanding that you've testified about this a lot in 18 18 the prior case. with your staff to the extent they did not involve an 19 19 MR. CLAY: Thank you. 20 20 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) So, Major Mitchell, what is A. I -- I would say I had 30 minutes of -- 30 or 21 35 minutes of testimony, and it was very -- very 21 your current job title? 22 22 stressful and intimidating. A. I am the major of -- in the law enforcement 23 Q. And following the -- I'm sorry, let me 23 division, and I currently supervise or oversee the sex 24 backtrack. 2.4 offender apprehension unit as well as the special 25 investigations unit. Did anyone in the Texas Attorney General's

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6 (Pages 21 to 24)

21 1 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) So Major Mitchell, I want Q. And so correct me if I'm wrong. At the time of 1 2 your previous deposition, I believe you supervised the step back and ask a few questions about the special 3 special investigations unit, or SIU, in the fugitive 3 investigations unit, again, without, hopefully, 4 4 retreating too much old ground. Can you describe in a apprehension unit. Is that correct? 5 5 general sense the functions of the special A. Yes, sir. 6 6 investigations unit? Q. So you've had some change in job responsibility 7 7 since you last testified? A. The special investigations unit conducts 8 8 criminal investigations which are typically referred to A. I apologize. We commonly refer to the fugitive our office by local prosecuting attorneys or local law 9 9 unit as the sex offender apprehension unit or vice 10 10 enforcement or other governmental officials. And we versa. 11 11 Q. I see. So it's the same -conduct criminal investigations throughout the entire 12 A. It's the same things. 12 State of Texas. And it is comprised of a number of 13 13 different teams which investigate different types of Q. Since your prior deposition in the Section Five 14 litigation, have you been promoted or demoted in any 14 crimes specialized in general areas. Some of the teams 15 15 include the election team, a public integrity team, a way? 16 16 A. No, sir. human trafficking team, a money laundering/financial 17 17 Q. And have your job responsibilities changed in crimes team, and a prosecution assistance team. Q. And you supervise all of those functions. Is 18 any way since the June 2012 deposition? 18 19 19 that correct? A. No. sir. 20 Q. Have you received any additional degrees since 20 A. Yes, sir. 21 June 2012? 21 Q. You would be at the top of the organizational 22 22 chart, so to speak, with respect to each of those teams? A. No, sir. 23 Q. Have you taken any additional graduate courses 23 A. Well, I have bosses, too. And I am the -- I am 24 since June 2012? 24 the major -- there is a captain and lieutenant who also 25 A. No, sir. 25 oversee the investigators. And then above me is a 22 24 1 O. Have you received any additional training 1 deputy director and a director as well. 2 2 Q. Of -relating to Election Code violations since June of 2012 3 A. No. sir. 3 A. The law enforcement division. 4 Q. In your capacity -- in your current job title, 4 Q. Great. So I think you've answered my next you -- you would consider yourself a State employee. Is 5 question describing the general types of cases and 6 6 investigations that SIU handles. I guess I'll just ask, that correct? 7 7 A. Yes, sir. were the teams or the areas of investigation that you 8 Q. You're paid by the State, I assume? 8 just identified all of the areas of investigations that 9 9 SIU would be assigned to? A. Yes, sir. 10 Q. And your prior testimony, was that in your 10 A. I -- it would also include fraud. Financial 11 official capacity on behalf of the State of Texas? 11 investigations and fraud. 12 12 A. Yes, sir. Q. So fraud in connection with financial 13 Q. And who are you testifying on behalf of in this 13 institutions or --14 deposition? 14 A. A lot of mortgage fraud or -- we do some 15 15 A. The State of Texas. benefit fraud cases as well. 16 16 Q. And what do you -- just so the record is clear, Q. Thank you. 17 I want to step back now and just --17 what do you mean by benefit fraud cases? 18 MR. CLAY: I'm going to interject here. I 18 A. An example of a fraud case that that team might 19 think that's not entirely accurate. And -- and I think, 19 work would be a referral from our crime victims' 20 20 in part, because your question involves a legal compensation fund that somebody perhaps may have 21 conclusion or a legal analysis by Major Mitchell who is 21 falsified the records and provided bogus receipts to try 22 not a lawyer. He's testifying on behalf of the Attorney 22 to get crime victims' compensation funds, and so our 23 General's office and not the State of Texas. 23 investigators might investigate that. 24 MR. DUNBAR: Okay. Well, we'll note that 2.4 Q. I see. In a very general sense, have SIU's 25 objection with his answer. priorities changed in any way since June 2012?

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7 (Pages 25 to 28)

25 1 Q. So as far as you're aware, there hasn't been a A. No. 1 2 Q. So I take it that also means that SIU's 2 substantial increase in staffing --3 priorities haven't changed in any way since SB14 became 3 A. No. O. -- with respect to the reelection teams since 4 effective? 5 5 your prior deposition? A. No, sir. 6 6 Q. And so the record is clear, you understand A. No. 7 that when I refer -- you understand what I mean when I Q. And where does that range in terms of size 8 refer to SB14, the state's photo voter identification 8 within the SIU? Is it the smallest -- smallest team? 9 law? 9 Largest team? 10 10 A. No. I would say it's comparable to the other A. Yes, sir. 11 Q. And that became effective in July of 2013. Is 11 teams. 12 that your understanding? 12 Q. So they're all about the same size? 13 13 A. I don't know for sure exactly when. A. It's the same size as the -- roughly the same 14 14 Q. But you -- are you aware that there was a time size as the public integrity team but is not as large 15 difference between when SB14 was enacted by the 15 as, perhaps, the money laundering team which has more 16 legislature and signed by the governor and that it was 16 investigators. 17 17 actually enforced? Q. So money laundering is the largest team 18 18 currently within SIU? A. Yes, sir. 19 Q. And did you play any role in the decision that 19 A. Yes. 20 20 Q. Do you know what the smallest team currently was made in July of 2013 to begin immediately enforcing 21 SB14's photo ID requirements? 21 within SIU is? 22 22 A. No, sir. A. I would say it's a tie between the public 23 23 integrity and elections. Four investigators each. Q. So you didn't have any conversations with 24 anyone at the Attorney General's office about that 24 Q. And apologies if I missed this before. What 25 issue? 25 does the public integrity -- the public integrity team 28 26 1 A. No, sir. 1 do? 2 2 Q. And how many individuals do you currently A. The Texas Attorney General's office frequently 3 supervise in the special investigations unit? 3 receives referrals from local county and district 4 A. I believe there are -- I believe there are 44, 4 attorneys involving allegations of criminal misconduct 5 45 positions within the special investigations unit. by various public officials. It could be a police 6 6 officer. It could be an elected official. It could be Q. Are all of those positions investigating 7 positions, so to speak, or does that include staff and an appointed official in some agencies. We also receive 8 administrative support? 8 referrals from other state agencies of alleged 9 A. That does include administrative and support 9 misconduct by some of their employees. And our mission 10 staff, which might include an auditor or analyst as well 10 and job is to assist the referring agency in conducting 11 11 as an administrative assistant. a criminal investigation. We may or may not assist in Q. And you've identified various teams within SIU 12 12 the prosecution as well, our office. 13 which are organized by subject matter of investigation. 13 Q. What type of training do individuals receive Are there any overlap between these teams, meaning the 14 14 when they're assigned particular teams, if any, to -- to 15 15 individuals belong to more than one team? acquire expertise with respect to the various topics they might be investigating? 16 16 A. Typically not. However, any of the 17 investigators could be called upon to assist any of the A. Mostly it's on-the-job training with the 18 18 guidance of a more experienced investigator. We have an other teams as necessary. 19 Q. And how many members are there currently of the 19 orientation and then there might be a slide show 20 20 election team? presentation in the various types of topics. Like human 21 21 A. Four. trafficking, we have a presentation that we would Q. Four. And was that true at the time of your 22 22 provide investigators on human trafficking, mortgage 23 Section Five deposition? Do you recall? 23 fraud, those kinds of things. But most of it's 2.4 A. I believe that -- it was either three or four 2.4 on-the-job training. 25 at the time. Q. And are the members of the -- the current

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8 (Pages 29 to 32)

29 31 1 members of the election team the same folks that would 1 and a director. 2 2 have been there in 2012? Or has there been a turnover Q. And so who are your direct reports? Who 3 in that -- in those slots? 3 reports -- who reports to you from within SIU directly? 4 4 A. There has been turnover in those slots. A. I have a captain who oversees the unit. 5 5 Q. Can you describe generally what the nature of Q. So the captain oversees the unit, you're kind 6 that turnover has been? Is it all new? Just a few 6 of sitting above the captain, and then you report up to 7 7 people? the deputy director? 8 8 A. Correct. A. I believe it's all new people. 9 Q. And is there a reason why there's been such 9 Q. And I believe -- I know one of the things that 10 high -- such turnover in the election team? 10 was produced last night, hopefully, was an 11 A. The investigators have moved to different types 11 organizational chart, so I'm hoping to study that a 12 of units. Some types of cases are more interesting than 12 little bit more and come back to that with any other 13 13 questions I might have. So that testimony has been others, and some investigators have wanted different 14 14 challenges. helpful. Q. Understood. And what types -- we may get again 15 15 A few more questions, actually, on the 16 to this later, but just to make sure I understand the 16 reporting arrangement. So given the structure of the --17 17 state of the record today, can you describe generally the -- the criminal division, are your conversations 18 the range of Election Code violations that the election 18 about Election Code violations contained within that 19 team might investigate? 19 hierarchy or do you have conversations -- setting aside 20 A. When you say range, do you mean the penalty 20 your lawyers, do you have conversations with other folks 21 range of the offenses? 21 in the Attorney General's office about Election Code 22 Q. No, sir. I meant the nature of the underlying 22 violations? 23 Election Code offense. 23 A. Yes, sir. We have discussed Election Code A. We receive referrals of in-person voting 24 24 investigations and prosecutions with, for instance, the 25 misconduct, which could involve voters or election 25 fugitive apprehension unit --32 30 1 workers. We also receive allegations of mail-in ballot 1 Q. Uh-huh. 2 violations. And then we also receive referrals 2 A. -- to request their assistance in locating a 3 involving criminal misconduct that's associated with 3 wanted person, for instance. 4 voter registration. 4 Q. And is that it? 5 Q. What about things like voter coercion? Would 5 A. I would also say that I would have 6 that be within the election team's ambit? 6 conversations, potentially, with my other majors. 7 7 A. Yes, sir. There's a major of our cyber crimes. 8 Q. And vote buying? 8 Q. Uh-huh. 9 A. Yes, sir. 9 A. And there's also a major of our professional 10 Q. Are there any types of election-type violations 10 standards and training. 11 that would fall outside the jurisdiction, so to speak, 11 Q. Uh-huh. 12 of the election team? Or would they pretty much handle 12 A. So I could have conversations with them as the full range of violations related to elections? 13 13 well. 14 A. Yes, sir. Under Texas law, there are some 14 Q. Are there any -- are there any more policy-type statutes that are found in the Penal Code, for instance, 15 15 offices within the Attorney General's office with which 16 which directly affect voters and elections. An example 16 you might have conversations about election crime is one that you mentioned which is coercion of a voter 17 issues? 18 18 or bribery of a voter. That's actually found in the A. I'm not sure I understand your policy. 19 **Penal Code and not in the Elections Code, but our team** 19 Q. Is there a -- people who deal with legislative 20 would work both. 20 affairs or policymaking in the Attorney General's 21 Q. Got it. And you may have answered this 21 office --22 question earlier, but to make sure I understand, are you 22 A. Yes, sir. 23 the highest-ranking individual within the special 23 Q. -- that you might have had conversations with 2.4 investigations unit? 24 about election crime issues? 25 25 A. No, sir. I -- I report to a deputy director A. Yes, sir.

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9 (Pages 33 to 36)

33 35 1 Q. And who would those people be? 1 MR. CLAY: Are you talking about the 2 A. We have an intergovernmental relations 2 session that SB14 was enacted? 3 3 division. And I think it's run by Jay Dyer. MR. DUNBAR: Yes. 4 4 O. And again, since June 2012, have you had MR. CLAY: That's 2011. 5 conversations with Mr. Dyer about election crime or 5 THE WITNESS: I was not a resource witness 6 during that election -- or during that session. voting fraud issues? 6 7 7 MR. CLAY: Well, Mr. Dyer is an attorney. Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Were you a resource witness 8 And so you can answer to the extent that the discussion 8 with respect to any of the prior versions of voter 9 doesn't involve legal discussions and is only related to 9 identification laws? 10 interactions -- policy discussions or interactions with 10 A. I believe -- I believe I was on standby in case 11 the legislature. 11 I was needed. 12 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) But to be clear, I -- I --12 Q. Do you remember what year that was? 13 13 A. 2009. MR. DUNBAR: I appreciate that objection. 14 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) The questions I just asked now 14 O. 2009. Besides the conversations -- well, let 15 are more just foundational whether these conversations 15 me step back. 16 16 existed and when. If we can build the record on that. How often do you speak with Mr. Dyer or 17 17 MR. CLAY: He was looking at me because he others in the intergovernmental affairs office about 18 election crime-related issues? knows that Mr. Dyer is an attorney. 18 19 MR. DUNBAR: Sure. 19 A. Rarely. Q. But you do remember these discrete instances 20 MR. CLAY: So I just wanted to make him 20 21 aware that there's a certain type of conversation that 21 since 2012? 22 22 if you decide you want to get into it, that he can talk A. Discrete? 23 about. And there's a certain type of conversation that 23 Q. The instances you were describing, how many --24 he can't. So I just I wanted to --24 let me back up. 25 MR. DUNBAR: No, I appreciate that. 25 How many times, to the best of your 36 34 1 1 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) I just wanted to make clear recollection, have you spoken with Mr. Dyer about 2 for the witness that I'm -- at this point, I'm just 2 election crime since June 2012? 3 asking if you factually had conversations since June 3 A. I believe I could have easily been asked 4 2012 with Mr. Dyer about election crime issues? 4 perhaps a half a dozen times for those spreadsheets. 5 A. Yes, sir. One of my duties is to provide Q. And do you recall how many times you might have 6 6 testimony potentially to the Texas legislature if I'm had discussions with him about possibly being a 7 7 summoned as a fact witness. I'm also asked by Mr. Dyer witness -- a resource witness in front of the Texas 8 to provide occasionally the Election Code spreadsheets 8 legislature on election crime issues? 9 that we maintain in the special investigations unit that 9 A. Maybe once or twice. 10 include our prosecutions and our charges pending. So I 10 Q. And do you recall when that was? 11 11 provide those to him as well. A. No, sir. 12 12 Q. Does your unit -- and by "unit" I mean SIU --Q. And have you testified before the Texas 13 legislature on election crime issues? 13 receive any guidance from the Attorney General or the 14 14 A. No, sir. Deputy Attorney General on matters relating to 15 Q. Was there a time period when you thought you 15 investigations of election crimes? 16 16 might had to testify? A. No, sir. 17 A. Yes. I -- I go over there to be a resource 17 Q. So it's more of a decentralized model in terms 18 witness if they call upon me to. I was over at the 18 of which types of crimes to concentrate your 19 legislature a couple of times last session. 19 investigative resources on? Do you make those decisions 20 20 Q. But as I recall correctly, you were not a ultimately? 21 21 resource witness in the legislative debate leading up to A. I wouldn't say it's decentralized in the fact 22 the enactment of SB14. Is that correct? 22 that we are all geographically located in the same 23 23 A. Which session? location. I would say that it is a consensus of myself, 24 Q. This would be, what, 2011? Well, let me step 24 the captain, lieutenant, and potentially even my deputy 25 back. director and director, as to which cases we devote the

25

expended by the SIU increased or decreased as a general

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12 (Pages 45 to 48)

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45
                                                                                                                            47
                                                                        matter since June 2012?
     want to say, about 300,000 a year. And then
     additionally I have three positions that are funded by
                                                                                 MR. CLAY: Object to form.
     the West Texas High Intensity Drug Task Force out in
                                                                                 To the extent you understand the question,
     El Paso. That includes two money laundering
                                                                        you can answer.
     investigators and one public integrity investigator.
                                                                                 THE WITNESS: I would say since 2012
     And those grants are combined. Let's say $250,000.
                                                                        the -- the financial resources available have increased.
       Q. The election -- the resources associated with
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And approximately -- sitting
     the election team, then, would come exclusively through
                                                                        here today, approximately how much of SIU's annual
                                                                        expenditure of resources would be related to
     the legislative appropriations channel?
10
                                                                   10
       A. Yes, sir. All the investigators who were
                                                                        investigations of election -- crimes or election
11
                                                                   11
     assigned to the elections team are general revenue
                                                                        violations?
                                                                   12
12
                                                                           A. I don't have an exact number of what we spend
     investigators.
13
                                                                   13
       Q. Thank you.
                                                                        each specific year. I could put it in the perspective
14
                                                                   14
              And has that always been the case with
                                                                        of I have four investigators assigned to that team.
15
                                                                   15
     SIU?
                                                                           Q. Uh-huh.
16
                                                                   16
       A. No, sir.
                                                                           A. In comparison to the law enforcement division
                                                                   17
17
       Q. Can you explain?
                                                                        having potentially 108 FTEs.
                                                                   18
18
       A. In 2005, I believe, the law enforcement
                                                                           Q. Uh-huh.
                                                                   19
19
     division -- criminal investigations division received a
                                                                           A. So I --
20
                                                                   20
                                                                           Q. Within SIU, I guess, if you had to -- strike
     grant from the governor's office. I believe it was a
21
                                                                   21
     Byrnes grant. And we hired, I want to say, about 15
                                                                        that. Let me rephrase it.
22
                                                                   22
     positions under that grant. And those were dispersed
                                                                                 Within SIU, which of your investigative
23
                                                                        teams is currently the most resource intensive?
     between the various units of the criminal investigations
24
     law enforcement division. Money laundering team, sex
                                                                           A. I would say it's the money laundering team.
25
     offender apprehension fugitive team, cyber crimes and
                                                                           Q. Money laundering. And where would the election
                                                          46
                                                                                                                            48
     SIU. You know, of SIU, some of those investigators were
                                                                        team rank?
                                                                                MR. CLAY: Objection; asked and answered.
     public integrity, elections, fraud.
                                                                          Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) You can answer.
       Q. And what is a Byrnes grant?
                                                                          A. As I previously testified, it's on par with the
       A. It's just a particular type of grant -- I think
     it's called the Ed Byrnes grant that law enforcement
                                                                        public integrity team. Each of those teams have about
     agencies in Texas can apply for through the governor's
                                                                        three or four investigators. And if I could even
                                                                        further clarify.
     office to fund various criminal justice initiatives.
       Q. And am I correct that there was a time when at
                                                                          Q. Please.
     least part of SIU's functions were funded by a grant
                                                                          A. The resources depend on the actual year. We
10
                                                                        receive more referrals in a year which contain a primary
     from the Department of Justice?
11
       A. Yes, sir. That is correct.
                                                                        and a general election than we do in the off years where
       Q. And what was the -- what was the nature of that
12
                                                                        we only have, perhaps, school district and municipal
13
                                                                   13
     funding arrangement? What did that -- what did that
                                                                        elections. So on even numbers of years, we tend to see
14
     fund?
                                                                        more cases than we do on the odd number of years.
15
       A. Like I just testified to?
                                                                           Q. Right. And I guess that's -- that's what I'm
16
       O. Uh-huh.
                                                                   16
                                                                        trying to understand is that the -- I understand that
17
                                                                   17
       A. It funded a number of positions within the law
                                                                        the FTE resources or fixed costs you have to pay,
                                                                   18
18
     enforcement criminal investigations division.
                                                                        employees, their salary, whatever benefits in any given
                                                                   19
19
                                                                        year, in that sense there's a rough equality between the
       Q. I see.
                                                                   20
20
       A. I believe it was about 12 to 15 positions.
                                                                        public integrity team and, say, the election team. I
21
                                                                   21
       Q. And has that grant expired or run its course?
                                                                        would assume there are other costs that might cause
22
                                                                   22
       A. Yes, sir. I believe that it was for 2005. And
                                                                        resource expenditures to fluctuate in any given year,
23
                                                                   23
     I think it expired in 2012.
                                                                        that is your investigators have to spend money on travel
24
                                                                   24
       Q. Okay. Have general resources -- have resources
                                                                        or other costs that come up in an investigation that
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would affect the -- the resource expenditures in any

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15 (Pages 57 to 60)

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57
                                                                                                                              59
 1
       special investigations division, we characterize it as a
                                                                    1
                                                                          dollar value associated with that that you recall?
 2
                                                                    2
       case type. And the election violations is a case type.
                                                                             A. There are actually two amounts. One was an
                                                                    3
 3
         Q. Right.
                                                                          amount for the criminal prosecutions division --
 4
         A. What --
                                                                    4
                                                                            O. Uh-huh.
 5
                                                                    5
         Q. I'm sorry. Go ahead.
                                                                            A. -- which is the division that maintains all --
 6
         A. What was -- what probably -- I can speak to the
                                                                    6
                                                                          or has all of the criminal prosecutors who will be sworn
 7
       manner and means by which we prepare it again, and that
                                                                    7
                                                                          in as DAs to prosecute cases, and then also the law
 8
       is that we queried our mainframe system and said, please
                                                                    8
                                                                          enforcement description. So there are two amounts.
 9
       identify all the OAG case numbers associated with
                                                                    9
                                                                            Q. So your office, SIU, doesn't conduct
10
                                                                   10
       election violation as a case type. We could then pull
                                                                          prosecutions. Is that correct?
11
       those case numbers and then look at the billable hours
                                                                   11
                                                                            A. Yes. We are only law enforcement personnel and
12
       and the billable costs associated with each of those.
                                                                   12
                                                                          support staff.
13
                                                                   13
         O. Great. That's helpful.
                                                                            Q. I'm sorry. Could you clarify that answer?
14
               And so all of the underlying information
                                                                   14
                                                                            A. The criminal prosecutions division has all the
15
       that's on this spreadsheet, the hours worked, the total
                                                                   15
                                                                          Assistant Attorney Generals who prosecute election
16
       hourly cost, direct expenses, that's all data that's
                                                                   16
                                                                          violation cases. The law enforcement division is
17
                                                                   17
       maintained within -- within the SIU system corresponding
                                                                          separate from that. We're still part of the Attorney
18
       to case number?
                                                                   18
                                                                          General's office.
19
         A. We don't necessarily have our own SIU system.
                                                                   19
                                                                            Q. Uh-huh.
20
                                                                   20
       We have an overall OAG mainframe which contains
                                                                            A. But we are the investigator law enforcement
21
       case-related information as far as billable hours, case
                                                                   21
                                                                          arm. We have investigators and support staff such as
                                                                   22
22
       costs, salary of investigators, the salary of
                                                                          auditors and analysts who help.
                                                                   23
23
                                                                            Q. I want to switch topics a little bit and talk a
       prosecutors, the costs associated with travel, the
                                                                   24
24
       specific case numbers.
                                                                          little bit more about the nuts and bolts of what SIU
         Q. And that's my final question, I think, about
25
                                                                   25
                                                                          does and how they've done it since 2012. Can you
                                                           58
                                                                                                                              60
                                                                    1
                                                                          describe to me how alleged Election Code violations get
 1
       this -- about this chart. And then total -- total --
 2
       there's a category, total hours worked. And I assume --
                                                                    2
                                                                          referred to SIU?
 3
       strike that.
                                                                    3
                                                                            A. Yes, sir, I can.
 4
               There's a category, total hours worked,
                                                                    4
                                                                            Q. Thank you.
 5
                                                                            A. There are a number of different ways they may
       and then total hourly costs, and then a direct expenses
 6
                                                                    6
       category as well. What would direct expenses include?
                                                                          be referred to the Attorney General's office. Probably
 7
                                                                    7
               MR. CLAY: Objection; foundation.
                                                                          the largest portion of cases are direct referrals from
 8
                                                                    8
               To the extent you know, you can answer.
                                                                          the elections division of the secretary of state's
 9
               THE WITNESS: I'm not absolutely certain.
                                                                    9
                                                                          office. A portion of the cases could be direct
                                                                   10
10
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Do you recall if you reviewed
                                                                          referrals from a district or a county attorney in any of
                                                                   11
11
       this chart before it was produced in the Section Five
                                                                          the jurisdictions in Texas. Or it could be a referral
12
                                                                   12
       litigation?
                                                                          from another law enforcement agency such as a sheriff's
                                                                   13
13
                                                                          department, the Texas rangers, FBI, any -- any type of
         A. I don't -- I don't specifically recall this
14
                                                                   14
                                                                          organization, any kind of law enforcement organization
15
                                                                   15
         Q. And just so the record is clear, you're not
                                                                          And then, finally, some of the referrals that we receive
16
                                                                   16
                                                                          are from elections administrators themselves.
       aware of having seen an updated chart or version of this
17
       document since this was produced in 2012. Is that
                                                                   17
                                                                            Q. And when you say election administrators, those
18
                                                                   18
                                                                          are the county officials or municipal officials involved
       correct?
19
         A. What I testified to is that I believe that it's
                                                                   19
                                                                          with running the elections?
20
                                                                   20
                                                                            A. Yes, sir. It depends on the jurisdiction
       not exactly formatted like this. But we did do a new
                                                                          whether or not they would be an elections administrator
                                                                   21
21
       printout. I requested my administrative staff to
22
       request a printout of all election violation costs with
                                                                   22
                                                                          or the county clerk or the county tax
23
                                                                  23
                                                                          assessor/collector.
       the case numbers that we've identified. And that period
                                                                            Q. And do I understand Texas law correctly that
24
       goes from fiscal year 2001 to present.
                                                                   24
25
         Q. And was there an aggregate -- was there a total
                                                                   25
                                                                          referrals could also come from voters directly in
```

23

24

25

routes?

A. No, sir.

a legislator has made a referral through either of those

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16 (Pages 61 to 64)

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61
                                                                                                                             63
     circumstances where the election involves more than one
                                                                           Q. Does your -- does SIU ever receive direct
     county. Is that right?
                                                                         referrals from, say, public interest organizations or
       A. Yes, sir. In Chapter 273 of the Election Code,
                                                                         just concerned citizens?
     voters may sign an affidavit and submit those affidavits
                                                                           A. Citizens call the Attorney General's office
     to a local county or district attorney for election
                                                                        every day about a wide variety of topics, including
     misconduct that occurs in that specific jurisdiction, or
                                                                        Election Code violations. It is our practice at the
     they may submit it to the Texas Attorney General's
                                                                         AG's office and the law enforcement division that if
     office if it involves a multi-jurisdictional election.
                                                                         someone calls to complain about election violation, that
       Q. And a voter could, without going through the
                                                                         we direct them to the secretary of state's office, the
     affidavit route, could just directly contact the Texas
                                                                         election hotline, so they can send it there. We advise
     Secretary of State's office, which I believe maintains
                                                                        the callers or the groups, if it was a group, that if
     an election hotline. Is that your understanding?
                                                                        the SOS determines that a potential criminal violation
       A. Yes, sir. Voters can directly contact the
                                                                        has occurred, that they would refer it to us. But we do
     elections division at the secretary of state's office.
                                                                        not initiate investigations based off of a voter calling
                                                                        our office or sending us a letter.
       Q. And do you know what SOS does with those
16
                                                                   16
     referrals?
                                                                           Q. Right. And do those calls typically go
17
                                                                   17
             MR. CLAY: Objection; foundation. You can
                                                                         directly to your unit, SIU, or are they -- is there some
                                                                   18
18
     answer to the extent you know.
                                                                         general Attorney General's contact number that generally
19
                                                                   19
             THE WITNESS: I -- I don't know
                                                                         deals with those types of calls?
20
                                                                   20
     specifically.
                                                                           A. My understanding of the organization, we do
21
                                                                   21
       Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Do you know what standard the
                                                                         have a public information assistance division that
22
                                                                   22
     secretary of state's office applies in determining
                                                                         answers calls as -- you know, from citizens and
23
                                                                   23
     whether they should then refer that referral to your
                                                                         constituents and other agencies. The law enforcement
24
                                                                   24
     office?
                                                                         division also has a -- a liaison who answers calls, who
25
                                                                   25
             MR. CLAY: Same objection.
                                                                         may be forwarding calls from our PIA. His name is
                                                          62
                                                                                                                             64
             THE WITNESS: It's my understanding that
                                                                         Captain Greg Lucas (phonetic).
2
     the only thing they would refer to our office is
                                                                           O. Thank you.
     something that they believe that there's a potential of
                                                                                 So it would be fair to say that there are
     a criminal offense that occurred.
                                                                         a number of ways in which various individuals can make
       Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Can legislatures -- excuse
                                                                         election crime violations known to the Attorney
     me -- legislators make referrals directly --
                                                                         General's office and to SIU in particular. Is that
       A. No.
       Q. -- to your office?
                                                                           A. They could -- they could make them known.
       A. No, sir.
                                                                         Correct.
10
                                                                   10
       Q. If a legislator wanted to make a referral, how
                                                                           Q. There are a number of referral routes both
                                                                   11
11
     would he or she go about doing it?
                                                                         through the -- through the secretary of state's office
12
                                                                   12
              MR. CLAY: Objection; form, foundation.
                                                                         and then also direct referrals. Is that correct?
                                                                   13
13
              You can answer to the extent you know.
                                                                           A. The only direct referrals that we would accept
14
                                                                   14
             THE WITNESS: To your hypothetical
                                                                         would be direct referrals from the secretary of state's
15
                                                                   15
     question, I would suggest that a legislature could
                                                                         office, a law enforcement agency, a local district or
16
                                                                   16
     contact either the SOS and put those witnesses that they
                                                                         county attorney, or a local elections administrator.
                                                                   17
17
     may have in contact with the SOS. Or they may contact
                                                                                 THE REPORTER: A local?
                                                                   18
18
     their local county and district attorney and do the same
                                                                                 THE WITNESS: Elections administrator.
                                                                   19
19
     thing. Let those witnesses provide information about
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) That's a helpful summary.
20
                                                                   20
     the alleged misconduct.
21
                                                                   21
       Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And, again, in the time period
                                                                                 But just to make sure I understand,
22
                                                                   22
     since June 2012, are you aware of any instances in which
                                                                         voters, in certain circumstances, assuming that they
```

23

24

25

follow the procedures laid out in 273, can also make

A. We would direct -- if a voter attempted to do

those referrals as well. Is that right?

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20 (Pages 77 to 80)

```
77
                                                                                                                           79
                                                                        General's office about why it's a referral-driven
 1
       Grand Jury preliminary hearings and at trial. So our
 2
       investigators could be involved from the very beginning
 3
       of the case to the conclusion of the case, which would
                                                                  3
                                                                          A. I would say, yes, I have had conversations
 4
       be a criminal trial.
                                                                        about that with my staff. And it would be to say
 5
         Q. And I believe you testified in the Section Five
                                                                        that -- I mean, it would be speculation on my part, but
 6
       case that OAG has the statutory authority to investigate
                                                                        it would be to say that the reason we do a referral is
 7
       Election Code violations on its own. But its policy is
                                                                  7
                                                                        that you can't have an election without somebody being
 8
       not to do so. Is that an accurate statement of your
                                                                        upset and everybody complains about the results of
 9
                                                                        elections, typically the losers. We have to be
       testimony?
10
         A. We prefer to work with local jurisdictions
                                                                 10
                                                                        referral-driven because there's just so much out there
       whenever and wherever possible.
11
                                                                 11
                                                                        that people are upset about as far as elections go, but
                                                                 12
12
         Q. But -- so the answer -- you -- OAG does have
                                                                        we can only focus on the ones that are referred to our
13
       the statutory authority to investigate on its own?
                                                                 13
                                                                        office.
14
                                                                          Q. So at bottom, then, that would be kind of a
         A. Under Chapter 273 of the Texas Elections Code,
                                                                 14
15
       if you're talking about a multi-jurisdictional justice
                                                                 15
                                                                        resource question?
                                                                 16
16
       election, the OAG has authority to prosecute those
                                                                           A. Yeah.
17
                                                                 17
       cases. And then we also have the ability to prosecute
                                                                           Q. A resource question?
18
                                                                 18
                                                                          A. A resource question.
       those cases that are referred to our office by the
19
       secretary of state's office.
                                                                 19
                                                                           Q. I think that's all I have on that question. I
20
         Q. But to be clear, it would have the statutory
                                                                 20
                                                                        was going to turn to start working through some of those
21
       authority to investigate those multi-jurisdiction cases
                                                                 21
                                                                        spreadsheet issues which may take a while. I don't know
22
                                                                 22
       as well, then. Is that correct?
                                                                        if now -- if we want to keep going, that's fine with me,
23
                                                                 23
         A. Yes, sir. Investigate and prosecute, yeah.
                                                                        but otherwise we can take a little break.
24
         Q. And that's without a referral from anyone?
                                                                 24
                                                                                MR. CLAY: Just to clear up the record,
25
         A. Statutorily or policy?
                                                                 25
                                                                        since we kind of modified Exhibit 3, I'm going to go
                                                          78
                                                                                                                           80
 1
          Q. Statutorily.
                                                                  1
                                                                        ahead and detach the --
                                                                                 MR. DUNBAR: Please do.
 2
                                                                   2
          A. 2273 -- I'm sorry. I don't have it in front of
 3
       me right now, for sure, but if it were referred to our
                                                                   3
                                                                                 MR. CLAY: Okay. Just for her purposes.
 4
       office and it involved a multi-jurisdictional election,
                                                                  4
                                                                                 (Exhibits No. 4 and 5 marked)
 5
                                                                  5
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) I've handed you what would
       I believe our office would have the authority to do -
 6
                                                                  6
       investigate it and prosecute it.
                                                                        have been labeled Exhibits 4 and 5. One of them we only
                                                                  7
 7
         Q. And I wanted to ask you just slightly -- that
                                                                        need to talk briefly about, which is -- take a look at
 8
       answer is helpful. I wanted to ask you just a slightly
                                                                  8
                                                                        Exhibit 5 first. You've testified that you -- that you
       different question, which is just if OAG became aware of
 9
                                                                  9
                                                                        recall your deposition in the Section Five litigation.
10
       potential election crimes somewhere in the state that
                                                                 10
                                                                        My question is, do you recall what -- and you were asked
                                                                 11
11
       involved multiple jurisdictions, as a statutory matter,
                                                                        questions about the spreadsheet that I believe you
12
       the office could investigate and then prosecute.
                                                                12
                                                                        referenced earlier in your testimony in that deposition.
13
       Correct?
                                                                13
                                                                        Is that correct?
                                                                 14
14
         A. As a statutory matter, I believe so. Yes.
                                                                           A. Yes, sir.
                                                                           Q. And do you recall the date that the spreadsheet
15
         Q. And then as a policy matter, I understand your
                                                                 15
16
       prior testimony -- and your testimony today to be that's
                                                                 16
                                                                        that was used in your June 2012 interview was last
17
       not what OAG does. Is that correct?
                                                                 17
                                                                        updated?
18
         A. We are a referral-driven agency.
                                                                 18
                                                                           A. Would you repeat that one more time?
19
         Q. And can you explain to me what the policy
                                                                 19
                                                                           O. Sure.
20
       rationale is behind being referral driven?
                                                                 20
                                                                                 You were deposed in June of 2012. Do you
21
               MR. CLAY: Objection; foundation, form.
                                                                 21
                                                                        recall the version of the spreadsheet that you were
               THE WITNESS: It would just be speculation
22
                                                                 22
                                                                        asked questions about during that deposition?
23
                                                                 23
       on my part.
                                                                           A. No, not specifically.
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) So you haven't had
                                                                 2.4
                                                                                 MR. DUNBAR: And, counsel, this goes to
       conversations with anyone in the -- in the Attorney
                                                                 25
                                                                        our agreement about kind of focusing on post Major -
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21 (Pages 81 to 84)

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81
                                                                   1
 1
       developments only since Major Mitchell's last
                                                                         later and go through and talk about those -- any changes
 2
                                                                   2
       deposition. It's our understanding, for the record,
                                                                         that have occurred. But for the time being, my
 3
       that what is Exhibit 5 was the version that was used,
                                                                   3
                                                                         questions will be obviously focused on this spreadsheet
 4
       which is dated March 12th, 2012. So although the
                                                                   4
                                                                         which is dated February 18th, 2014.
 5
       agreement is to talk only about developments since the
                                                                   5
                                                                                  MR. CLAY: And, again, I'm just going to
 6
       June deposition, since the June deposition was based on
                                                                   6
                                                                         preface all this with, you know, our understanding of
 7
                                                                   7
       a spreadsheet reflecting information from March of 2012,
                                                                         the court's order -- and I've got them here if we need
 8
      I believe there are a few cases that fall within the
                                                                   8
                                                                         to discuss them -- is, for the most part, these
 9
       window between March 2012 and June of 2012 that I may be
                                                                   9
                                                                         documents speak for themselves and so the testimony i
10
      asking questions about.
                                                                  10
                                                                         going to be more about the administerial and the
11
               MR. CLAY: Okay. And that's fine so long
                                                                 11
                                                                         collection and maintenance of this documents and not
12
       as -- you know, obviously subject to the law enforcement
                                                                  12
                                                                         delve too much into the particular details of the
13
       privilege and other applicable privileges. I'm not
                                                                  13
                                                                         individual cases.
14
                                                                  14
       going to object to --
                                                                                  MR. DUNBAR: I mean, I appreciate you
15
               MR. DUNBAR: Right. I understand those
                                                                  15
                                                                         stating that for the record, but it may be easier to
16
       discussions may be coming, but --
                                                                  16
                                                                         just have the discussions as we get into the questions
17
                                                                 17
               MR. CLAY: There's a three-month period
                                                                         about where the line is drawn. Our understanding -- our
18
                                                                 18
       here.
                                                                         understanding of the court's order is that, you know,
19
               MR. DUNBAR: There's -- as I understand
                                                                  19
                                                                         she granted our motion to compel.
20
                                                                  20
       it, there is a three-month discrepancy and I just want
                                                                                  To the extent you think there is a law
21
       to make sure nothing falls through the cracks. So we
                                                                  21
                                                                         enforcement privilege issue, I would ask certainly that
22
                                                                  22
       can set Exhibit 5 aside for the time being.
                                                                         you could raise it. But for many of the things I'm
               MR. CLAY: You represented that to be the
23
                                                                  23
                                                                         going to be asking, I believe these -- these are topics
24
       case. I don't know whether it is the case or not, but
                                                                  24
                                                                         that Major Mitchell testified about in the Section Five
25
       I'm also -- it's fine with me if you want to --
                                                                  25
                                                                         case in open court. Similar level -- I will be asking
                                                          82
 1
                                                                   1
               MR. DUNBAR: That's my -- that's my
                                                                         questions that I think are a similar level of generality
 2
                                                                   2
       understanding.
                                                                         as to what Major Mitchell testified previously.
 3
               MR. CLAY: That's fine.
                                                                   3
                                                                                  MR. CLAY: Okay. And I -- I just want to
 4
               MR. DUNBAR: If it turns out to be
                                                                   4
                                                                         be clear that -- I mean, I'm also going upon the amended
 5
       different, we could then maybe modify the agreement.
                                                                   5
                                                                         notice that you guys served on us, on the Attorney
 6
                                                                   6
               MR. CLAY: All right. I have no objection
                                                                         General's office, and it refers specifically to those
 7
                                                                   7
       to you talking about, you know, March on versus June on.
                                                                         matters ordered by the court on July 24, 2014. And so
 8
                                                                   8
       No problem.
                                                                         you know, my understanding -- I've got -- again, I've
 9
               MR. DUNBAR: Okay. I just wanted the
                                                                   9
                                                                         got the order here.
10
       record to be clear on that.
                                                                  10
                                                                                  My understanding of what the court ordered
11
                                                                 11
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Okay. So if you turn to
                                                                         was the maintenance of these documents and sort of
12
       Exhibit 4, can you tell me what this document is?
                                                                 12
                                                                         the -- or the maintenance and the -- the maintenance,
13
         A. This document contains spreadsheets maintained
                                                                 13
                                                                         generation, and things of that nature and -- and not
14
       by the special investigations unit which talk about
                                                                  14
                                                                         actually -- I mean, I think she actually uses the
                                                                  15
15
       investigation referrals that are received by this
                                                                         words -- you know, these are documents. They're data
16
                                                                 16
       office, prosecutions which are resolved, as well as
                                                                         They kind of speak for themselves. So to the extent
17
       charges which are currently pending from OAG
                                                                  17
                                                                         that we're going to get into particular details about
18
                                                                 18
       investigations or prosecutions.
                                                                         particular cases, you know, I may be objecting a lot --
19
         Q. And so the record is clear about what I'm
                                                                 19
                                                                                  MR. DUNBAR: Okay.
20
                                                                  20
                                                                                  MR. CLAY: -- just based upon the scope
       doing, I understand that an updated version of the
                                                                  21
21
       spreadsheet was -- came in the production last night
                                                                         and also the law enforcement privilege.
22
       from April of 2014. I'm going to ask you questions
                                                                  22
                                                                                  MR. DUNBAR: Well, we disagree with your
23
                                                                  23
                                                                         reading of the opinion and don't -- order and don't want
       about this -- about the spreadsheet that's dated
2.4
       February 18th, 2014, and then I think there are only a
                                                                  24
                                                                         to spend a lot of time of Major Mitchell's time arguing
25
       few minor differences. We may pull that document in
                                                                  25
                                                                         among lawyers here. For the record, I will say that to
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22 (Pages 85 to 88)

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85
                                                                                                                          87
 1
                                                                  1
       the extent there's a topic that you invoke a law
                                                                                MR. CLAY: I mean, I just want to be
 2
                                                                  2
                                                                        clear. I mean, the judge clearly said, you know, what's
       enforcement privilege on, you know, I think we'll be
 3
                                                                  3
       taking the position that if that privilege is enforced,
                                                                        good for one side is good for the other. So I don't
 4
                                                                  4
       then that topic is off limits for all parties with
                                                                        think that the scope of this deposition is going to
 5
                                                                  5
       respect to any evidence that might come in. If we're
                                                                        be -- is any larger than what the scope of the
 6
                                                                  6
                                                                        deposition that we were granted with respect to DOJ is.
       not allowed to ask questions about things, we don't
 7
                                                                  7
       think the privilege should be both kind of a sword and a
                                                                                MR. DUNBAR: And you made that specific
 8
       shield.
                                                                  8
                                                                        request --
 9
                                                                 9
               The second thing I'll say about that is
                                                                                MR. CLAY: Okay.
                                                                10
10
                                                                                MR. DUNBAR: -- which she -- she rejected.
       that, again, I'm going to be asking questions that I
                                                                11
11
       think are at the level of generality that Major Mitchell
                                                                                MR. CLAY: Well, if we need to take it up
12
       testified about in the Section Five case, in both his
                                                                12
                                                                        with the court, then we will.
13
                                                                13
                                                                                MR. DUNBAR: We'll take it up with the
       deposition and his testimony. If your position is
14
                                                                14
                                                                        court. But again, to the extent anything is off limits
       you've adopted a more expansive view with a law
15
                                                                15
                                                                        here, at a minimum we'll be taking the position that
       enforcement privilege since that time, that's fine. But
                                                                16
16
       I would also ask that in making your objections, if you
                                                                        it's off limits for you guys throughout your case in
17
                                                                17
       could clarify whether your objection is based on what
18
                                                                18
                                                                          Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) So with that in mind -- sorry
       you think the law enforcement privilege actually
19
       protects versus what you think you -- you don't have to
                                                                19
                                                                        for that, Major Mitchell.
20
                                                                20
       produce just because of another dispute -- discovery
                                                                                MS. CLARK: Kelly, can I jump in? This is
21
       dispute you're having with DOJ. If you could separate
                                                                21
                                                                        Jennifer Clark. Just for the help of those of us on the
22
                                                                22
       those objections, I think that would be helpful in
                                                                        phone, when y'all are talking about exhibits, if you
                                                                23
23
       thinking about this going forward.
                                                                        could refer to Bates number, it would be much
24
               MR. CLAY: Sure.
                                                                24
                                                                        appreciated. Thank you.
                                                                                MR. DUNBAR: Certainly.
25
               And just to be clear, it's not -- and I do
                                                                25
                                                         86
                                                                                                                          88
                                                                 1
                                                                          Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) We are now referring to
 1
       want to get on with the testimony, but there are kind of
                                                                 2
 2
                                                                       Exhibit 4, which I've -- which is Texas -- Texas
       two lines of objections and it isn't based upon a
                                                                 3
       dispute with the DOJ. It's based upon both the language
 3
                                                                       IR000232 all the way through Texas IR000261. And
 4
       of your notice and -- which talks about the July 24th
                                                                 4
                                                                       apologies, Major Mitchell, if I asked you this question.
 5
                                                                 5
                                                                       It may have gotten lost in Reed and I's soliloquies, but
       court order -- and the language of that order that I'm
 6
                                                                 6
                                                                       do you -- could you tell me what this document is again
       relying on. And we're not producing Major Mitchell for
                                                                 7
 7
       anything that is not contained within the four corners
                                                                          A. Yes, sir. This document appears to be the
 8
                                                                 8
       of this notice or what the judge said on July 24th. And
                                                                       spreadsheets that are maintained by the special
 9
                                                                 9
                                                                       investigations unit which document the Election Code
       so --
                                                                10
10
               MR. DUNBAR: Right. And you made it --
                                                                       referrals received by our office, the charges which ar
                                                                11
11
               MR. CLAY: -- he won't be testifying about
                                                                        currently pending on Election Code investigations or
                                                                12
12
       that.
                                                                       prosecutions that our office is involved in, and then
13
               MR. DUNBAR: You made a specific request
                                                                13
                                                                       prosecutions which have been resolved.
                                                                14
14
       for the judge to clarify that his deposition would be
                                                                          Q. Are you the author of this document?
15
                                                                15
       limited in the way of DOJ, and she -- she rejected that.
                                                                          A. I used to be.
16
                                                                16
                                                                          Q. When did you stop authoring this document?
       She said that to the extent there are law enforcement
                                                                17
17
       privileges those can be dealt with in the ordinary
                                                                          A. All right. I passed the duty to the captain of
18
                                                                18
                                                                       the special investigations unit sometime earlier this
       course. But you made the specific request after the
19
       judge orally stated she was granting our motion. So we
                                                                19
20
                                                                20
                                                                         Q. Were you the author -- did you or the captain
       can disagree about that and go through this deposition
       and then take that up with the judge and then maybe have 21
                                                                        have the responsibilities for the February 18th, 2014
21
22
       to go back and revisit that, so --
                                                                22
                                                                        version?
23
                                                                23
                                                                          A. Yes, sir.
               MR. CLAY: Okay.
                                                                24
                                                                          Q. I'm sorry. Which of the two?
24
               MR. DUNBAR: But that's fine. We'll just
                                                                          A. I believe it was mine. I believe I was still
25
                                                                25
       ask the questions.
```

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23 (Pages 89 to 92)

89 doing it at the time. 1 Eric is an attorney. So to the extent that your -- your Q. So at least with respect to this document, you 2 discussions included any legal analysis or legal 3 believe it was you? discussion, you're directed not to answer. A. Yes, sir. 4 THE WITNESS: No, sir. Q. And can you tell me why you keep track of this 5 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And how frequently is the information? 6 spreadsheet updated? 7 7 A. Yes, sir. We maintain this spreadsheet for the A. As frequently as possible. It may go a matter 8 purposes of keeping track of all Election Code 8 of months before we have any kind of change in the 9 investigations and prosecutions and this document is in 9 prosecutions resolved or change in the number of cases 10 a format which potentially could be released to the 10 that are currently charged. Referrals may -- may be 11 public or contains information which is obtained through 11 updated more regularly because we are always getting 12 other means such as getting a copy of an indictment, or 12 referrals. So that may be monthly or every two months. 13 13 But we could go three or four months without any changes getting a copy of a judgment in a sentence. 14 14 Q. Right. And I believe you testified in the to the criminal prosecutions. 15 Section Five case that -- as you've alluded to here, 15 Q. Now, I believe the version that I was provided 16 16 that one of the reasons this document was created would of the spreadsheet I was provided last night was April 17 17 be able to present public information that wouldn't of 2014. I'm not sure of the precise date. Are you 18 18 implicate law enforcement privileges. Is that correct? aware of whether that's the most recent version of the 19 19 spreadsheet? A. Yes, sir. 20 20 Q. Did someone ask you to keep track of this A. It probably is not, because I know that we 21 information? 21 recently obtained some convictions and then we recently 22 22 A. Yes, sir. We created this spreadsheet at the charged some new suspects. 23 instruction of former Deputy Assistant Attorney General 23 MR. DUNBAR: Okay. To the extent there is 24 Eric Nichols. 24 a more recent version one than that, Reed, I renew my 25 Q. And when was that? 25 request for that. I'm not sure if there is. And I may 92 90 1 1 A. I apologize. I would say somewhere around be getting the date wrong on the spreadsheet. I'll take 2 2 2008 maybe. a look at that. 3 Q. And are similar spreadsheets kept for other 3 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) You testified that you created 4 categories of what we -- violations that SIU 4 the spreadsheet in part so that you could have -- could 5 investigates? have a document that you would be able to hand people 6 6 publically. Has -- has anyone in the Texas legislature A. Yes, sir. 7 7 O. For each of the other teams? asked you for this spreadsheet since June 2012? 8 A. No, sir. I wouldn't say for each of the other 8 A. No one has specifically asked me for this 9 teams, but we do keep records of that -- of public 9 document. 10 10 Q. Are you aware of anyone making any request to integrity cases that we investigate, as well as money 11 11 laundering cases we investigate. We keep spreadsheets SIU generally for this document, from the legislature, 12 12 as well. since June 2012? 13 13 Q. And were those -- was the request to keep those A. I have been requested by our intergovernmenta 14 14 spreadsheets also made by Mr. Nichols? relations division to provide these spreadsheets, and 15 A. No, sir. 15 they advised me it was a legislative request. 16 Q. And what was Mr. Nichols' position again? 16 Q. And do you know which legislatures were making 17 A. He was the deputy attorney general for criminal 17 the request? 18 18 justice. A. I don't know all who have made the requests, 19 Q. And you were in -- you were in -- you were 19 and I don't know if it was given to one legislature or leading SIU at the time that request was made. Is that 20 20 five legislatures. I just don't know. 21 correct? 21 Q. Do you know the names of any legislators that 22 A. Yes, sir. 22 made such a request? 23 Q. And did you have conversations with Mr. Nichols 23 A. I know Anchia has requested this. 24 about why you were keeping the spreadsheet? 2.4 THE REPORTER: You know who? 25 MR. CLAY: I'll object to the extent that THE WITNESS: Anchia.

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24 (Pages 93 to 96)

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93
                                                                                                                             95
 1
               MR. CLAY: A-N-C-H-I-A.
                                                                   1
                                                                         general election, a municipal election, a special
                                                                   2
 2
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Is that the only person you
                                                                         election, a constitutional election, the cause number of
                                                                   3
 3
       recall?
                                                                         any cases that were filed, the actual charges and the
 4
                                                                   4
         A. Off the top of my head, yes, sir.
                                                                         number of counts for each of the charges, when those
 5
                                                                   5
                                                                         were charged and what the relevant -- either Election
         Q. Okay. Has anyone in the governor's office
 6
       asked you for this -- asked you, you meaning SIU, for
                                                                   6
                                                                         Code or Penal Code statutes are.
 7
                                                                    7
       the spreadsheet since June 2012?
                                                                            Q. And with respect to the charges column, do
 8
                                                                    8
                                                                         you -- do you -- and by "you" I mean yourself or anyone
         A. No, sir. Not that I'm aware of.
 9
         Q. What about anyone outside OAG making requests
                                                                    9
                                                                          with SIU, keep track of who files the charges and where
10
                                                                  10
                                                                         the charges are filed?
       for this spreadsheet since June 2012?
11
                                                                  11
                                                                            A. Yes, sir.
         A. I believe our communications division has
12
       received requests from newspapers and -- and reporters
                                                                  12
                                                                            Q. And is that in a separate document?
                                                                  13
13
         Q. And so this -- this spreadsheet -- everything
                                                                            A. Well, we have a -- we have a policy whenever we
14
       we're seeing here would be produced in response to such
                                                                          either receive a Grand Jury indictment or whether or not
                                                                  14
15
       request?
                                                                  15
                                                                          we've filed an affidavit to obtain a warrant for arrest,
16
         A. Correct.
                                                                  16
                                                                          that the investigators provide the supervisors with a
17
         Q. And I believe you testified this is divided up
                                                                  17
                                                                          copy of that charging instrument. So that's a document
18
       into three parts: Charges pending, referrals, and
                                                                  18
                                                                         that -- that is maintained by a special investigations
19
       resolved prosecutions. Is that right?
                                                                  19
                                                                          unit, the indictment or the warrant. And that tells us
20
                                                                  20
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                          what county it's arrested -- the person was arrested in
21
         Q. And have you all -- has the spreadsheet always
                                                                  21
                                                                          or charged in. And it would also contain, generally,
22
       been divided up in that matter, that is with those three
                                                                  22
                                                                         information about -- if it was a different county where
23
                                                                  23
       sections?
                                                                         the offense occurred versus where it was being charged,
24
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                  24
                                                                         that would also be in there as well.
25
         Q. So looking at the -- asking just some very
                                                                  25
                                                                            Q. Thank you.
                                                           94
                                                                                                                             96
       general questions to make sure I understand the
                                                                                 So if I'm counting this right, at least as
                                                                    1
 2
       pending -- charges pending resolution tab, which for
                                                                   2
                                                                         of February 18th, 2014, there were eight pending cases.
 3
       those on the phone is, again, Texas IR000232, these are
                                                                         Is that right?
 4
       pretty self-explanatory, but can you tell me what each
                                                                           A. Yes, sir. When this document was prepared,
                                                                         there were eight pending cases.
       of the column titles refers to?
 6
         A. On this chart, which is titled Charges Pending
                                                                            Q. And can you tell me what the different types of
 7
                                                                         charges pending against these eight people are?
       Resolution --
 8
         Q. Yes, sir.
                                                                           A. For instance, the first one is illegal voting,
 9
         A. -- the first column would be county. And that
                                                                   9
                                                                         which is under Election Code Chapter 64.012.
10
       is going to be the county of where the alleged offense
                                                                  10
                                                                            Q. Uh-huh.
                                                                  11
11
       occurred. And sometimes, pursuant to the Election Code,
                                                                            A. And the portion of that statute which is
12
       the county where the offense occurred may not be
                                                                  12
                                                                         violated was voter impersonation. And then, for
13
       actually the county where we charge the criminal
                                                                  13
                                                                         instance, the next one -- or -- the -- going to
       offense. We have the statutory authority to move those
                                                                  14
                                                                         the third entry.
15
       criminal prosecutions between counties. So it could be
                                                                  15
                                                                            Q. Uh-huh.
16
       the county where the offense occurred and then the
                                                                  16
                                                                            A. Montgomery County involving Goeddertz. It was
17
                                                                  17
       county where it's being prosecuted.
                                                                         illegal voting, ineligible voter. So it was a voter who
18
               The second column is the defendant who was
                                                                  18
                                                                         was not eligible to vote in that election because he
19
       charged in the offense. The allegation is the
                                                                  19
                                                                         wasn't a resident of that jurisdiction. But it also is
20
                                                                  20
       allegation that was contained in the referrals
                                                                         Chapter 64 of the Election Code.
21
                                                                            Q. So what other categories, besides residence,
       spreadsheet, which is another document. And that would
                                                                  21
22
       be what the allegation was made in the referral
                                                                  22
                                                                          what might be other types of reasons that a voter would
23
       document, such as the letter from the secretary of
                                                                  23
                                                                         be ineligible to vote such that would fall under that
24
       state's office. The specific election involved, whether
                                                                  24
       or not the year it was -- occurred, whether it was a
                                                                  25
                                                                            A. If a voter is a convicted felon, they're not
```

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25 (Pages 97 to 100)

```
97
       eligible to vote in the election. If the voter is not a
                                                                  1
                                                                        new pending charges case since the June 2012 deposition
 1
       U.S. citizen, they're not eligible to vote in our
                                                                        relates to the last entry. Is that correct?
 3
       elections.
                                                                  3
                                                                          A. Yes, sir.
                                                                          Q. Okay. And can you provide any general
         O. I--
          A. And if the voter is already voted --
                                                                        background on that case?
                                                                                MR. CLAY: I'm going to go ahead and
         Q. -- age --
                                                                  6
                                                                  7
 7
         A. -- they're not -- yes. Age is another example.
                                                                        assert law enforcement privilege. To the extent it
       They must be over 18.
                                                                        doesn't require you to divulge any sensitive law
         Q. And so generally speaking, then, it looks like
                                                                        environment information, you can answer his question.
10
       the eight -- the eight pending charges here encompass
                                                                 10
                                                                                THE WITNESS: I really can't provide you
11
       voter impersonation; ineligible voter; and ineligible
                                                                 11
                                                                        anything outside what's already on the spreadsheet right
12
       voter, felon. Is that correct?
                                                                 12
                                                                 13
13
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                          Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And so the spreadsheet shows
14
                                                                 14
                                                                        in the Charges column that this was a one count of
         Q. And looking at the dates -- and you can take a
15
       few minutes if it needs to -- how many of these cases
                                                                 15
                                                                        illegal voting, ineligible voter, felon. Am I reading
                                                                 16
16
       were pending resolution when you were last deposed on
                                                                        that right? It looks like there might be a typo, but --
17
                                                                 17
       June 5th, 2012?
                                                                          A. Yes, sir, there's a typo. Yes, sir. That's
                                                                 18
                                                                        the offense that's charged.
18
         A. I would say all the bottom entry, which is
19
                                                                 19
                                                                          Q. And what does it mean for a case generally to
       Cameron County election offense.
20
          Q. And do you know why those charges are still
                                                                 20
                                                                        involve an ineligible voting felon?
21
       pending?
                                                                 21
                                                                          A. Under Texas law, a convicted felon may not vote
                                                                 22
22
          A. I'm sorry. Maybe I -- perhaps I misunderstood
                                                                        until the completion -- the entire completion of their
23
                                                                 23
                                                                        sentence. That means that they're either completely
       the question. That's the only one that -- that was
24
       subsequent to the last time I was deposed.
                                                                 24
                                                                        discharged by the Texas Department of Criminal Justice
25
         Q. I'm sorry. And I'm going to get to that one in
                                                                 25
                                                                        from any parole terms or that they've completed any
                                                          98
                                                                                                                         100
 1
       one sec. I just wanted to ask one quick, cleanup
                                                                        terms of probation that are issued by the court. So
 2
       question with respect to the chart. The cases where the
                                                                  2
                                                                        this charge would indicate that this person still voted
 3
       charges are still pending and those charges were pending
                                                                        while they were either on probation or parole.
 4
       when you were last deposed, do you know why those
                                                                          Q. So illegal voting, ineligible voter, felon, as
 5
       charges are still pending?
                                                                        a charge wouldn't encompass anything like in-person
 6
         A. Yes, sir. The first entry, I believe her
                                                                        voter impersonation. Is that correct?
 7
       name is -- the defendant is Mary Comparin. And she has
                                                                  7
                                                                          A. You could -- you could have a circumstance
 8
       been determined to be incompetent and has not been
                                                                  8
                                                                        where it's both counts --
 9
       prosecuted for any violations.
                                                                  9
                                                                          Q. Understood. Just this charge standing alone
10
         Q. And you testified about her in your last
                                                                 10
                                                                        would not encompass in-vote -- or voting impersonation
       deposition and trial testimony. Is that correct?
                                                                 11
11
                                                                        Is that correct?
                                                                 12
                                                                          A. I can't speak specifically to any facts of this
12
         A. Yes, sir.
         Q. I believe you testified that she was someone
13
                                                                 13
                                                                        case and whether or not voter impersonation was an
       who was voting in multiple elections. Is that right?
14
                                                                 14
                                                                        issue. I -- this is the charge that we charged.
15
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                 15
                                                                          Q. And under the -- under Texas law, under
16
         Q. Or multiple times?
                                                                16
                                                                        64.012, ineligible -- ineligible person voting is a
         A. Yes. I testified that she was using multiple
17
                                                                 17
                                                                        separate violation from voter impersonation. Is that
18
       identities, including one of her -- which was her
                                                                 18
                                                                        right?
19
       deceased sister, to vote multiple times in elections.
                                                                 19
                                                                          A. Yes, sir, it is.
20
         Q. And what -- what IDs was she using to vote in
                                                                 20
                                                                          Q. And your -- your testimony today is you're just
                                                                 21
21
       those different elections?
                                                                        not aware whether this case involves any allegations of
                                                                        the in-voter -- voter impersonation -- excuse me --
22
         A. I don't -- I would -- don't know specifically
                                                                 22
23
       unless I looked at the combination form of each of those
                                                                 23
                                                                        in-person voter impersonation?
24
                                                                 24
                                                                          A. If I could speak generally, many of the
25
         Q. Okay. So I think we've established the only
                                                                        referrals that we receive from the secretary of state's
```

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26 (Pages 101 to 104)

```
103
                                                        101
 1
       office or a DA's office could be global in nature where
                                                                        investigations that occur in the State of Texas and
                                                                  1
                                                                        other prosecutions that this office has no knowledge of
       it says that there's a wide variety of misconduct that
       has occurred. And it may be specifically that it says
                                                                  3
                                                                        That can be done at a local level, and it would not be
       illegal voting has occurred in this election. The
                                                                        encompassed in this document. We -- this only
       referral document doesn't say whether that was one of
                                                                        represents cases that either my investigators -- our
       the three or four categories of illegal voting. It may
                                                                        investigators have been directly involved in, or whethe
 6
                                                                  6
 7
       say specifically it was illegal voting by a felon. It
                                                                  7
                                                                        or not OAG prosecutors have been directly involved in,
       may say -- it could be illegal voting, that people voted
                                                                        or a combination thereof.
       twice in an election. But in this specific instance,
                                                                          O. And -- and that raises a question. Are there
10
       the allegation just says "illegal voting," so I don't
                                                                 10
                                                                        ever circumstances in which SIU doesn't conduct an
                                                                        investigation of an Election -- Election Code violation,
11
       know what type of illegal voting is -- it is.
                                                                 11
                                                                 12
12
         Q. With respect to the actual charges brought,
                                                                        but just becomes involved at the prosecution stage
13
       however, those would not encompass allegations of --
                                                                 13
                                                                        perhaps with assisting local or state prosecutors?
14
       in-person voter impersonation. Correct?
                                                                 14
                                                                          A. Yes, sir.
15
         A. The only charges he was charged -- the suspect
                                                                 15
                                                                           Q. And -- and how many instances -- how often does
16
       was charged for was being a felon and not being eligible
                                                                 16
                                                                        that occur?
17
       to vote in the election.
                                                                 17
                                                                           A. It's -- it's -- I would say very few. Most of
18
                                                                 18
         Q. And that type of voting crime -- that type of
                                                                        them, the investigators are involved in from the very
19
       voting violation would not be something that would have
                                                                 19
                                                                        beginning. But there have been a couple of cases where
20
       been affected by SB14's photo identification
                                                                 20
                                                                        the local DA has just requested prosecutorial
21
       requirements one way or the other. Is that correct?
                                                                 21
                                                                        assistance.
                                                                 22
22
               MR. CLAY: Objection; form, vagueness.
                                                                           Q. So that's -- just as -- by way of example, to
23
         O. (BY MR. DUNBAR) You can answer.
                                                                 23
                                                                        help me understand when that might happen, a local
24
         A. No. I don't believe so.
                                                                 24
                                                                        prosecutor might learn of alleged Election Code
25
         Q. All right. I'd now like to skip to the end of
                                                                 25
                                                                        violations, decide to investigate himself or herself,
                                                        102
                                                                                                                         104
 1
       the spreadsheet -- which for those joining by phone is
                                                                  1
                                                                        decide to prosecute, and at the prosecution stage, reach
 2
                                                                   2
                                                                        out to SIU or OAG for assistance, and you might become
       range -- would be the Prosecutions Resolved heading
 3
       which starts at Texas IR000255 and proceeds through
                                                                   3
                                                                        involved. And that circumstance would be reflected on
 4
       Texas IR00261 (sic).
                                                                   4
                                                                        your spreadsheet?
 5
               Are you there with me, Major Mitchell?
                                                                   5
                                                                          A. Correct. If I could expand a little bit
                                                                   6
                                                                        further.
          A. Yes, sir, I am.
         Q. And what does this heading or tab reflect?
                                                                           Q. Please.
 8
          A. This is the prosecution's resolve spreadsheet
                                                                   8
                                                                           A. Local law enforcement or federal law
 9
       that the special investigation unit maintains of all the
                                                                  9
                                                                        enforcement or state law enforcement could conduct an
10
       cases that have been resolved and had a case
                                                                 10
                                                                        investigation, present the case to the DA's office, and
                                                                 11
11
       disposition.
                                                                        the DA's office then ask for prosecutorial assistance.
12
          Q. And that's since 2005. Is that correct?
                                                                 12
                                                                           Q. What type of prosecutorial assistance would SIU
13
          A. So the first entry is a -- a 2005 case, yes,
                                                                 13
                                                                        provide in a general case?
14
       sir.
                                                                 14
                                                                           A. Our investigators could help our OAG
                                                                 15
15
         Q. And does the universe of cases listed here
                                                                        prosecutors prepare a case for Grand Jury, presentation
16
       cover only matters that have at one point been referred
                                                                 16
                                                                        of the case to a Grand Jury by helping them serve
17
       through your office? Or would it encompass any other
                                                                 17
                                                                        witnesses with subpoenas, help them gather documents
18
                                                                 18
                                                                        certify copies of documents. Or do the same thing at
       prosecutions that you might -- that might not have been
19
       referred through your office -- by your office I mean
                                                                 19
                                                                        the trial as well: Serving subpoenas, preparing,
20
                                                                 20
       SIU, I apologize -- that would not -- that you might
                                                                        getting documents together.
21
                                                                 21
       have learned about subsequently?
                                                                           Q. And do the columns -- without having to go
22
         A. The Prosecutions Resolved spreadsheet that -
                                                                        through all of the columns that are shown on the
23
                                                                 23
       that we maintain encompasses investigations that this
                                                                        Prosecutions Resolved heading that we talked about with
24
       office has been involved in or prosecutions that this
                                                                        respect to charges pending, are the charges -- excuse
25
       office has been involved in. There are other
                                                                        me -- are the -- can you identify for me which columns
```

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27 (Pages 105 to 108)

```
105
                                                                                                                          107
 1
                                                                   1
                                                                         subject you touched on a minute ago. It may be two
       are different? Are there -- are there additional --
 2
       well, let's just -- scratch all of that. Let's just
                                                                   2
                                                                         different documents.
 3
       work through the columns again.
                                                                   3
                                                                                 MR. DUNBAR: Right. It may be a different
 4
                                                                   4
               Can you tell me what each of the columns
                                                                         version.
 5
       refers to? And to the extent it's the same information
                                                                   5
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) So consistent with the rest of
 6
       that you referred to in your -- with respect to the
                                                                   6
                                                                         my deposition, I want to focus on the cases that were
 7
                                                                   7
       chargings pending, you can just let me know that.
                                                                         resolved, that came on to the Prosecutions Resolved
 8
         A. Yes, sir. It -- it is relatively the same as
                                                                   8
                                                                         spreadsheet since your last deposition. By my count
 9
       the charges pending. Again, it talks about the county
                                                                   9
                                                                         that begins on the page which is Bates-labeled Texas
10
       both where the offense occurred and maybe where it's
                                                                 10
                                                                         I.R. 00259.
11
       prosecuted, the defendant, the allegation.
                                                                  11
                                                                           A. Yes, sir.
12
         Q. And again, the allegation, for purposes of this
                                                                  12
                                                                           Q. So starting with Erica Perez, which the
       column, is drawn -- is also drawn from the initial
                                                                  13
13
                                                                         resolution date is 4/4/12, which would -- again, would
14
       referral documents?
                                                                  14
                                                                         have been a date after the March 2012 spreadsheet that,
15
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                  15
                                                                         as I understand it, was used at your last deposition.
16
         Q. Okay.
                                                                  16
                                                                         Counting down from that, I get a total of 17 new
17
                                                                  17
         A. And then it has all the cause numbers for all
                                                                         resolved cases since your last deposition. Am I -- am I
18
       of the cases which are charged. A difference between
                                                                 18
                                                                         reading the -- your chart correctly?
19
       that and the charges pending is that some -- we may
                                                                  19
                                                                           A. Including Perez?
20
       accept a plea for just one charge instead of ten
                                                                  20
                                                                           Q. Yes, sir.
21
       charges. And then the other difference is in the
                                                                  21
                                                                           A. Okay. Yes, sir. You are correct.
22
                                                                  22
       disposition, what the actual disposition of the case is.
                                                                           Q. As an aside, so that the record is clear on
23
       Was the person found guilty, was the person found not 23
                                                                         this, do you know when Texas held the first election for
24
       guilty, was there a plea agreement, was there deferred
                                                                         which SB14's photo identification requirements were in
25
       adjudication, or was there probation?
                                                                  25
                                                                         effect?
                                                                                                                          108
                                                        106
         Q. And what record -- what records did you rely on
                                                                   1
 1
                                                                           A. The entire state or a jurisdiction within the
 2
       when you had these responsibilities to fill in that
                                                                   2
                                                                         state?
       Disposition column?
                                                                   3
                                                                           O. For the entire state.
 4
         A. We have a standard procedure in our office that
                                                                   4
                                                                           A. I would believe it would be the 2013 -- I'm
       when a case is -- when we reach a disposition in a case,
                                                                         sorry. I would believe it would be the primary
 6
       that the investigator needs to attain the -- the final
                                                                   6
                                                                         elections this year.
 7
       documents in that case. So the investigator will obtain
                                                                   7
                                                                           Q. Which were those, November of 2013?
 8
       from the prosecutor or the district or county clerk the
                                                                           A. No, sir. Those would be in March of this year.
 9
       judgment or sentence, which may or may not include the
                                                                   9
                                                                           Q. Okay. I had done some -- do you recall a
10
       probation, any kind of plea agreement or a pretrial
                                                                  10
                                                                         constitutional amendment election in November of 2013?
11
                                                                  11
       diversion program, or a dismissal, or -- whatever the
                                                                           A. Yes, sir. I believe we did have a
12
                                                                  12
                                                                         constitutional election that would have been in November
       disposition documents are, the investigator needs to
13
       obtain these. And they provide it to myself or the
                                                                  13
                                                                         of 2013.
                                                                           Q. Right. And if the SB14's photo ID requirements
       captain, and then we use those documents specifically to
                                                                  14
15
                                                                  15
                                                                         went into effect in July of 2013, they would have
       prepare the spreadsheet.
16
         Q. Okay. Thank you.
                                                                  16
                                                                         applied in that election. Correct?
               And do you know off the top of your head
                                                                  17
                                                                           A. Yes, sir, I believe you're correct.
18
       how many resolved cases are reflected on the
                                                                  18
                                                                           O. And so none of these 17 new cases on the
19
       spreadsheet? If you don't, I don't want to make you
                                                                  19
                                                                         Prosecutions Resolved involved conduct -- let me
20
       count. But I just didn't know if that's something you
                                                                  20
                                                                         rephrase.
21
       keep in the back of your head constantly.
                                                                  21
                                                                                 Is it accurate to state that the only new
                                                                  22
22
         A. When I reviewed this last night, I counted 72.
                                                                         17 resolved cases on this spreadsheet involve conduct
23
         Q. Seventy-two. Yeah. I counted 74, but I may
                                                                 23
                                                                         from before when SB14's photo ID requirements were
24
       have miscounted. It was late last night, so --
                                                                 24
                                                                         implemented? I'll give you some time to look at that
25
               MR. CLAY: Well -- and also -- this is a
                                                                 25
                                                                         just to make sure you're sure.
```

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28 (Pages 109 to 112)

```
109
                                                                                                                       111
 1
                                                                 1
         A. All of the elections that are listed here
                                                                         Q. Yeah. And your explanation is reminding me
 2
                                                                 2
       occurred previous to the implementation of SB14.
                                                                       that I had gone back. And if you look at the March of
                                                                 3
 3
         Q. Thank you.
                                                                       2012 spreadsheet that was used, these cases are not
 4
                And how many of these 17 cases resulted in
                                                                 4
                                                                       listed there. So this -- this 17 cases, as I understand
 5
                                                                 5
       a conviction or a guilty plea? I count eight. I just
                                                                       it, would be 17 resolved cases, perhaps since your last
 6
                                                                 6
       want to make sure you agree with my interpretation.
                                                                       deposition is an incorrect statement, but 17 resolved
 7
                                                                 7
         A. Did you say a plea or a conviction?
                                                                       cases that you did not have the opportunity to testify
 8
                                                                 8
                                                                       about at your last deposition, if that makes sense?
         Q. How many of the cases resulted in either a
 9
                                                                 9
       conviction or a guilty plea?
                                                                               MR. CLAY: So maybe another way to put it
10
                                                                10
         A. I'm sorry. I counted nine.
                                                                       would be -- and, obviously, I want to let you conduct
11
                                                                11
                                                                       the deposition.
         Q. Oh, it's possible I miscounted.
12
                MR. CLAY: Are we looking at just the ones
                                                                12
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: Sure.
13
       that have been resolved since --
                                                                13
                                                                               MR. CLAY: But another way to put it would
                                                                14
                                                                       be there's 17 new cases on the Prosecutions Resolved -
14
                MR. DUNBAR: Yes, sir.
15
                MR. CLAY: -- March of 2012?
                                                                15
                                                                       or different cases on the Prosecutions Resolved list.
16
                MR. DUNBAR: From Erica Perez down.
                                                                16
                                                                       Two of those appear to have been resolved prior to his
                                                                17
17
                MR. CLAY: That's on 0259?
                                                                       last deposition, but were not on the list that was used
                                                                18
18
                MR. DUNBAR: Yeah. So, please, if I'm
                                                                       at his last deposition.
19
       misreading the spreadsheet somehow --
                                                                19
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: That's -- that's correct. I
20
                                                                20
                MR. CLAY: Well, the problem I see -- and
                                                                       will go -- going forward, we'll use the 17 different
21
       I just noticed this a minute ago and am now putting it
                                                                21
                                                                       cases formulation --
                                                                22
22
       together -- is that there's two resolution dates
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Okay.
23
                                                                23
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: -- to avoid confusion, and
       embedded in here that appear to have occurred prior to
24
       his -- do you see the second and third line, the two
                                                                24
                                                                       I --
25
       Smiths. The resolution date seems to be a little bit
                                                                25
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Does that make sense?
                                                       110
                                                                                                                       112
 1
       out of order, if that makes sense.
                                                                 1
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: Yes, it does.
 2
               MR. DUNBAR: I'm sorry. I don't see the
                                                                 2
                                                                         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Does that make sense to you,
 3
       Smiths.
                                                                 3
                                                                       Major Mitchell?
 4
               MR. CLAY: This is 2011 -- this is 0260.
                                                                 4
                                                                         A. Yes, sir, it does.
 5
               THE WITNESS: Okay.
                                                                 5
                                                                         Q. Okay. And I actually had some questions about
 6
               MR. CLAY: So Ronald Marsh Smith and Ann
                                                                 6
                                                                       how those got on there, but you may have already
 7
       Marie Marsh Smith. Do y'all see that -- those two
                                                                 7
                                                                       answered. But we'll get to them when we come back.
 8
       lines?
                                                                 8
                                                                               So -- but there's maybe another basic
 9
               THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.
                                                                 9
                                                                       numbering error on my end which is of these 17 different
10
               MR. CLAY: The resolution date is in 2011.
                                                                10
                                                                       cases, figuring out how many resulted in a conviction or
                                                                11
11
       Do you see that, Kelly?
                                                                       a guilty plea. And let me just recount that myself.
12
               MR. DUNBAR: I do see that. I guess would
                                                                12
                                                                       Well, let's just walk down them, because I think I still
13
       that be -- I guess I'll just ask Major Mitchell.
                                                                13
                                                                       get the same count. So for -- we'll come back to some
14
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Would that -- would that mean 14
                                                                       of these a little more individually. Erica --
15
       we should take those two cases out of the -- out of the
                                                                15
                                                                       Erica Perez is a not guilty during a bench trial.
16
       calculation of cases resolved since you last testified?
                                                                16
                                                                       Correct?
17
         A. I should -- if I may expand upon this.
                                                                17
                                                                         A. Correct, sir.
18
         Q. Please.
                                                                18
                                                                         Q. Richard (sic) Medrano, Sr. is a not guilty
19
         A. We do not update the spreadsheet until we
                                                                19
                                                                       during a bench trial. Correct?
20
       actually have a copy of the case disposition. So by
                                                                20
                                                                         A. Yes, sir.
21
       this spreadsheet saying 3/23/11, it does not mean that
                                                                21
                                                                         Q. Gilda Hernandez is a guilty. Correct?
22
       we updated the spreadsheet on 3/23/11. Sometimes it
                                                                22
                                                                         A. Correct.
23
                                                                23
                                                                         Q. So that's our first guilty. The first Smith is
       takes the clerk's office, you know, a month to provide
2.4
       this to us or two months or sometimes it may go un --
                                                                24
                                                                       a guilty. Is that correct?
25
       unnoticed for a while, so --
                                                                         A. Yes, sir. Ronald Marsh pled guilty.
```

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29 (Pages 113 to 116)

```
113
                                                                                                                        115
 1
                                                                  1
                                                                                The next voter, Lorenzo Antonio Almanza,
         Q. Oh, sorry. I'm sorry. You're right. I was
 2
       looking at Ronald Marsh. So that's our second. His
                                                                  2
                                                                        that's a pled guilty. Is that correct?
 3
       wife, I believe, Ann Marsh, resulted in dismissal.
                                                                  3
                                                                          A. Yes, sir.
 4
       Correct?
                                                                  4
                                                                          Q. So that gets us to seven counting the no
 5
                                                                  5
                                                                        contest. And then Jenkins and Heath were both
         A. Yes, sir.
 6
         Q. Jose De Jesus Cano is a guilty. Is that
                                                                  6
                                                                        convictions. Is that correct?
 7
       correct?
                                                                  7
                                                                          A. Yes, sir.
 8
                                                                  8
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                          Q. So that gets us to nine?
 9
         Q. So that gets us three. Frank Ross is
                                                                  9
                                                                          A. Yes. sir.
10
       dismissed. Is that correct?
                                                                 10
                                                                          Q. Convictions of the 17 different cases. Is that
11
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                11
                                                                        correct?
12
         Q. Sylvia Medrano is dismissed. Is that correct?
                                                                 12
                                                                          A. Yes, sir.
13
                                                                13
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                          Q. Okay.
14
         Q. Angel Trujillo pled guilty. Correct?
                                                                 14
                                                                                THE REPORTER: Are you at a good stopping
15
                                                                 15
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                        point?
16
         Q. So that gets us four. Rojas was a Grand Jury
                                                                 16
                                                                                MR. DUNBAR: If we need to take a break.
17
       no bill. Correct?
                                                                17
                                                                        I --
                                                                18
18
         A. Correct.
                                                                                MR. CLAY: Are you almost done with this
19
         Q. And can you tell me what a Grand Jury no bill
                                                                 19
                                                                        sheet? If so, why don't we finish that and we'll take a
20
                                                                 20
       is?
                                                                        quick break? If you're not, let's go ahead and break.
21
         A. In this spreadsheet, our office conducted an
                                                                 21
                                                                                MR. DUNBAR: Let's break now.
22
                                                                 22
       investigation in cooperation with a local district
                                                                                (Off the record)
23
                                                                23
                                                                          Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) All right, Major Mitchell
       attorney. The investigative findings were presented to
24
       a Grand Jury. And the Grand Jury voted on a no bil,
                                                                24
                                                                       We're still talking about the Prosecutions Resolved
25
       which is that no criminal charges would be filed
                                                                        portion of your spreadsheet. And we've identified the
                                                       114
                                                                                                                        116
                                                                  1
                                                                       17 different cases since the -- since your last
 1
       pursuant to that investigation.
 2
                                                                  2
                                                                       deposition. Of those 17, how many involved charges of
         Q. Right. And so that was the same resolution,
                                                                  3
 3
       then, for the next two Velas. Is that how you say the
                                                                       in-person voter impersonation?
 4
       last name?
                                                                  4
                                                                          A. There's only one case that specifically illegal
 5
                                                                  5
                                                                       voting, voter impersonation was charged and convicted.
         A. Vela. Correct.
 6
                                                                  6
                                                                         Q. And that's Mr. Almanza. Is that correct?
         Q. And skipping down to Castillo, we have a pled
 7
                                                                  7
                                                                          A. Yes, sir. Lorenzo Antonio Almanza, Jr.
       guilty. So that gets us to five. Is that right?
 8
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                  8
                                                                          Q. And what can you tell me about that case?
 9
         Q. And then a Ozuna is a no contest. And perhaps
                                                                  9
                                                                          A. I believe I testified in the -- in my trial and
                                                                 10
10
       that's where our difference is. Can you tell me what a
                                                                       in the deposition, that the facts and the circumstances
                                                                 11
11
       no contest is?
                                                                       of that case were Lorenzo Antonio Almanza presented
         A. It's the suspect in this case didn't enter a
12
                                                                12
                                                                       himself at the Progreso School District election and
13
       plea of guilty or not guilty. They just didn't. They
                                                                13
                                                                       utilized his brother's voter registration certificate.
                                                                14
14
       entered a plea of no contest to the charges as filed and
                                                                       His brother, at the time -- I believe his name was
                                                                 15
15
       then they agreed to the -- a punishment.
                                                                       Orlando Almanza -- was in custody in San Antonio in the
16
                                                                16
                                                                       state penitentiary when that election occurred, and that
         Q. So when you were answering my question about a
                                                                17
17
       conviction or guilty plea, did you include the no
                                                                       Lorenzo used his voter registration certificate to vote
18
                                                                18
                                                                       a second time in that election.
       contest in that summary?
19
         A. For the purposes, I think, of criminal
                                                                19
                                                                               During the course of the -- when he
                                                                 20
                                                                        presented himself to the elections officials there, a
20
       convictions in the State of Texas, despite receiving
                                                                 21
21
                                                                       poll watcher observed the name that was being put down
       a -- despite entering a plea of no contest, you still
22
       are found guilty -- or can be found guilty of a criminal
                                                                22
                                                                       on the combination form and recognized that this was
23
                                                                23
                                                                       not Orlando Almanza, this was his brother, Lorenzo
       offense.
                                                                24
2.4
         Q. Okay. That may have been the source of our
                                                                       Antonio, Jr., and brought that to the attention of the
25
       error, but just to finish the exercise to make sure.
                                                                       election judge. It was at that point in time, I
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30 (Pages 117 to 120)

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117
                                                                                                                          119
      believe, that the mother, who had previously been
                                                                  1
                                                                         you may use that as one of your acceptable forms of
                                                                   2
       convicted in our -- at the time of my deposition and at
                                                                         documents to verify who you are at a polling place.
                                                                   3
 3
      the time of the trial, that she interjected herself and
                                                                         Examples at the time would have been a utility bill, or
      began to argue with the elections judge and election
                                                                         a bill -- some sort of correspondence from the
       workers, vouching that that was, indeed, her son Orlando
                                                                  5
                                                                         government. Any of those documents, you could use to
       and not Lorenzo. And the elections administrator for
                                                                   6
                                                                         present yourself as a voter. So Lorenzo used his
 7
                                                                   7
       that school district election allowed him to vote, which
                                                                         brother's voter registration certificate, presented it
 8
       became a second vote in that election, utilizing his
                                                                   8
                                                                         to the poll worker, elections worker, and said he was
 9
      brother's voter registration certificate.
                                                                  9
                                                                         Orlando Almanza.
                                                                 10
10
         Q. And I believe you testified previously, but
                                                                           Q. But a poll watcher recognized him and knew that
11
                                                                 11
                                                                        was not the case. Correct?
      just to make sure I understand correctly, the mother
12
                                                                 12
      herself never cast a ballot improperly in that election.
                                                                           A. Correct.
13
      Is that right?
                                                                 13
                                                                           Q. And so -- so a photo -- SB14's photo iden --
14
         A. No, sir. She was charged as a party to the
                                                                 14
                                                                         with respect to this particular case, SB14's photo
15
       offense of illegal voting.
                                                                 15
                                                                         identification requirement wouldn't have been necessary
16
         Q. Something like aiding and abetting?
                                                                 16
                                                                         to get a conviction. Is that correct?
17
                                                                 17
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                                 MR. CLAY: Objection; form and foundation.
18
                                                                 18
                                                                                 THE WITNESS: I mean, that's pure
         Q. And during the Section Five deposition and
19
       testimony where you spoke about Mr. Almanza, the matter
                                                                 19
                                                                         speculation on my part. I mean --
20
                                                                 20
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Put differently, you were able
       was still in the investigative stage at that time?
21
         A. No, sir. He had already been indicted and
                                                                 21
                                                                        to investigate and prosecute Mr. Almanza for what he did
22
                                                                 22
                                                                        without an SB14 photo identification requirement in
       charged with the offense, but it was awaiting trial.
                                                                 23
23
                                                                        effect. Correct?
         Q. So he would have been on the charges pending
                                                                 24
24
       portion of your spreadsheet. Is that --
                                                                          A. Yes, sir, because we had a witness who was able
25
         A. Correct.
                                                                 25
                                                                        to positively identify that suspect.
                                                                                                                          120
                                                        118
                                                                          Q. Right. Was Mr. Almanza a part -- were there
 1
          Q. Is that correct? And did your office
 2
                                                                        allegations in Mr. Almanza's case that this was part of
       investigate this case?
 3
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                        a kind of coordinated effort to affect the outcome of
 4
          Q. And can you describe generally what that
                                                                        the election at issue?
 5
                                                                                MR. CLAY: Objection; form, foundation.
       investigation entailed?
                                                                          Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) You can answer.
 6
                MR. CLAY: Again, subject to law
 7
                                                                          A. This case involved many allegations involving
                                                                  7
       enforcement privilege.
 8
               I don't want you to reveal any sensitive
                                                                  8
                                                                        many people.
 9
       or law enforcement tactics or things of that nature, of
                                                                  9
                                                                           Q. What were the nature of those allegations
10
                                                                 10
                                                                         regarding others? Setting aside -- how were -- how were
       course.
                                                                 11
11
                THE WITNESS: It could -- any
                                                                        Lorenzo and his mother's conduct connected with a
12
       investigation could involve reviewing records and
                                                                 12
                                                                        broader coordinated effort?
13
                                                                 13
                                                                                 MR. CLAY: Again, we're getting close to
       interviewing witnesses.
                                                                 14
14
          Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And so Lorenzo, as I
                                                                        implicating some law enforcement privilege, so just make
15
       understand it, and I think you testified, presented his
                                                                 15
                                                                         sure your answer doesn't divulge any sensitive law
16
                                                                 16
       brother's voter registration card to a poll worker. Is
                                                                        enforcement information.
17
       that right?
                                                                 17
                                                                                 THE WITNESS: The Progresso Independent
18
                                                                 18
                                                                         School District election -- there have been many, many
          A. Yes, sir. Under Texas law when you go to vote
19
       in an election, at that time you could present your
                                                                 19
                                                                         allegations of illegal voting that have occurred in
20
                                                                 20
       voter registration certificate --
                                                                        that -- in that jurisdiction. They were not charged --
                                                                 21
2.1
          Q. Uh-huh.
                                                                         Lorenzo or his mother Reyna Almanza were not charged as
22
          A. -- which was issued by the elections office,
                                                                 22
                                                                         a party to any engaging in organized criminal activity.
23
                                                                 23
       which would be mailed to your address that -- where
                                                                         But there are many allegations of illegal voting in that
24
       you're registered. That certificate you then take to
                                                                 2.4
                                                                        jurisdiction.
25
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Understood. I guess as a kind
       the elections -- or you take it to the polling place and
```

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31 (Pages 121 to 124)

```
123
                                                       121
                                                                       Gilda Hernandez and Sylvia Medrano were all part of that
 1
       of general matter, my impression from at least the
 2
       Prosecutions Resolved spreadsheet is that a lot of the
                                                                       same misconduct?
 3
       conduct, whether it's in-person voter impersonation or
                                                                 3
                                                                         A. This referral came in from the Secretary of
 4
       otherwise, seemed to involve one-off instances of
                                                                       State's office and you can see on the allegation portion
 5
                                                                       of this spreadsheet --
       individuals engaging in election crimes. Is that -- is
 6
                                                                         Q. Uh-huh.
       that an accurate portrayal?
 7
         A. I'm not sure I understand the phrase one off.
                                                                 7
                                                                         A. -- that it contains a wide variety of criminal
 8
         Q. Let me backtrack.
                                                                       allegations. If memory serves me correct, I think there
 9
               Do we know -- is it -- without implicating
                                                                       were roughly ten different categories of criminal
10
       the law enforcement privilege, can you talk about why
                                                                10
                                                                       offenses. And --
11
      Lorenzo Almanza engaged in the voter impersonation that
                                                               11
                                                                         Q. And this was in connection -- sorry -- to
12
       he did?
                                                                12
                                                                       clarify -- this was in connection with a primary
13
               MR. CLAY: Objection; form and foundation.
                                                                13
                                                                       election in Dallas, you said?
14
               THE WITNESS: I was never allowed to
                                                                14
                                                                         A. Yes, sir. That's correct.
                                                                         Q. And can you describe just generally -- I can
15
       interview Lorenzo Antonio Almanza about what he did.
                                                                15
16
       couldn't say.
                                                                16
                                                                       read the allegation column, but your general
17
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) So we don't know -- sitting
                                                                17
                                                                       recollection of what the -- the case involved?
      here today, you're not sure if it was part of an effort
18
                                                                         A. There were allegations of mail-in ballot fraud.
                                                                18
19
       to sway the outcome of the election or it was just an
                                                                19
                                                                         Q. Uh-huh.
20
      individual making a stupid criminal decision?
                                                                20
                                                                         A. There were allegations of noncitizens voting.
21
         A. He wasn't charged as a party to any engaging in
                                                               21
                                                                       There were allegations of people who weren't residents
22
                                                                22
       organized criminal activity.
                                                                       of that particular precinct voting in that election.
23
         Q. And Mr. Almanza, I believe we said, pled guilty
                                                                23
                                                                       There were allegations of misconduct in the processing
24
       to illegal voting, voter impersonation, and he was
                                                                24
                                                                       of the mail-in ballot applications.
25
       sentenced to two years in TDCJ. Is that right?
                                                                25
                                                                         Q. Three of those four resulted in either not
                                                       122
                                                                                                                       124
         A. Yes, sir. That refers to Texas Department of
                                                                 1
                                                                       guilty or dismissal. Correct? As I read it, only
 2
       Criminal Justice and that would be our state
                                                                 2
                                                                       Gilda Hernandez pled guilty?
       penitentiary.
                                                                 3
                                                                         A. When you mean the three of the four, you're
         Q. Okay. And none of the other charges, with
                                                                 4
                                                                       also referring to Sylvia Medrano?
       respect to the 17 different cases involve in-person
                                                                 5
                                                                         Q. Yes, sir.
 6
       voter impersonation. Is that right?
                                                                 6
                                                                         A. Yes, sir. Only Gilda Hernandez pled guilty.
         A. Of the 17 different?
                                                                 7
                                                                         Q. And would any of the conduct for any of these
 7
         Q. Right. I think this whole conversation started
 8
                                                                 8
                                                                       four individuals that was alleged been anything that
 9
       with me asking you which did and you identified Lorenzo,
                                                                 9
                                                                       SB14's photo identification requirement would have
                                                                10
10
       but I want to make sure I ask that question right and
                                                                       prevented?
                                                                11
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Objection; form, foundation.
11
       that there aren't others.
12
         A. I'm not aware of any other cases of the 17 that
                                                                12
                                                                               THE WITNESS: Any of the four individuals
13
       were identified that involve voter impersonation.
                                                               13
                                                                       meaning Erica Perez, Ricardo Medrano, Gilda Hernandez
14
         Q. Thank you.
                                                                14
                                                                       and Sylvia Medrano?
                                                                         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Yes, sir.
15
               And just to -- to very briefly walk
                                                                15
16
                                                               16
                                                                         A. The answer is, no, I do not believe it would
      through these cases, just to make sure at a high level I
       understand what's going on, if it wasn't in-person voter
                                                                17
                                                                       have made an impact.
18
                                                                18
       impersonation, I wanted to start with the Erica Perez
                                                                         Q. Thank you.
19
       and the -- and the -- and the Medranos, which, as I
                                                                19
                                                                               And then this brings us to the issue that
20
       understand it, this was all part of a similar
                                                                20
                                                                       Reed hopefully pointed out earlier. The next on my list
21
                                                                21
                                                                       then would be the Marshes. And this is -- for those
       investigation. Am I wrong about that?
                                                                       following on the phone, this is on Texas I.R. 000260 --
22
         A. No, sir. There were multiple suspects who were
                                                                22
23
       charged in the Dallas 2010 primary election case.
                                                                23
                                                                       and as we discussed previously, the date -- the
24
         Q. And that would have been Erica Perez, Richard
                                                                24
                                                                       resolution date there is March 23rd, 2011. Is that
       Medrano, and then -- or you're telling me
                                                                       right?
```

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32 (Pages 125 to 128)

```
125
                                                                                                                       127
 1
         A. Yes, sir. March 23rd, 2011.
                                                                 1
                                                                       I can't tell you whether or not --
                                                                 2
         Q. And as -- as we discussed before, I don't
                                                                         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) No. My question is -- is
                                                                 3
 3
       believe that those were listed on the spreadsheet, that
                                                                       limited to the charging decision, which is that based on
      March 2012 spreadsheet that you testified about in your
                                                                 4
                                                                       the charging decision, he was not charged with
      last deposition. Is that your understanding?
                                                                 5
                                                                       impersonating anyone?
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                 6
 6
                                                                         A. That is correct.
                                                                 7
 7
         Q. And can you explain the circumstances by which
                                                                         Q. So again, this wouldn't have been a case that
 8
      this case came to your attention and came to be added to
                                                                 8
                                                                       SB14's photo ID requirement would have prevented. Is
                                                                 9
       the spreadsheet?
                                                                       that correct?
10
         A. If my memory serves me correctly, and I
                                                                10
                                                                         A. His charges would not have -- SB14 would not
                                                               11
11
      apologize, there's lots of referrals to our office, I
                                                                       have impacted his charge.
12
       believe this referral came from the local district
                                                                12
                                                                         Q. Thank you.
       attorney from Smith County and involved allegations of
                                                                13
                                                                               We can skip Sylvia Medrano. And, again,
13
14
       an election to determine whether or not a specific town
                                                                       on the same page, the next line down is Angel Trujillo,
15
       was going to have liquor sales, which we call a local
                                                                15
                                                                       who, according to the charges column, was, again, one
       option election. And I believe the suspects in this
                                                                16
                                                                       count illegal voting, ineligible voter, felon. Is that
       case were identified as voters who voted in that
                                                               17
17
                                                                       correct?
18
       election, but did not actually reside in that
                                                               18
                                                                         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                19
19
                                                                         Q. And Mr. Trujillo pled guilty. Correct?
         Q. That's my understanding as well. So, then,
                                                                20
20
                                                                         A. Yes, sir.
21
       Ronald Marsh pled guilty, and his wife, I believe,
                                                                21
                                                                          Q. And again, I think we established that at least
22
       Annie Marsh, her case was dismissed?
                                                                22
                                                                       as a charging decision matter, a charging decision does
23
         A. Yes, sir. That's correct.
                                                                23
                                                                       not -- the charging decision for ineligible voter, felon
24
         Q. So neither of the Marshes were charged with
                                                                24
                                                                       would not encompass in-person voter impersonation.
25
       voter impersonation. Correct?
                                                                25
                                                                       Correct?
                                                       126
                                                                                                                       128
 1
                                                                 1
         A. No, sir.
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Objection; misstates prior
 2
         Q. And again, these wouldn't have been cases that
                                                                 2
                                                                       testimony.
 3
                                                                 3
       SB14's photo ID requirement would have prevented. Is
                                                                               THE WITNESS: Mr. Trujillo was not charged
 4
       that correct?
                                                                 4
                                                                       with any offense of voter impersonation.
 5
         A. Not prevented. No, sir.
                                                                 5
                                                                         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) So with respect to his
 6
                                                                 6
                                                                       charges, again, this wouldn't have been a case that
          Q. The next, moving on down the spreadsheet --
 7
                                                                 7
                                                                       SB14's photo ID requirement would have prevented.
       again, this is on the same page, is a Mr. Cano who was
 8
                                                                 8
       charged with one count of illegal voting, ineligible
                                                                       Correct?
 9
       voter, felon. Am I reading that correctly?
                                                                 9
                                                                         A. I do not believe so.
10
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                10
                                                                         Q. Again, on the same page of Texas I.R. 000260
                                                                11
11
         Q. And so, as we previously discussed, I believe,
                                                                       you have a set of charges -- excuse me, prosecutions,
12
       the charge of ineligible voter, felon would not
                                                                12
                                                                       arising from Hidalgo County involving Rojas, Sylvia
13
       encompass in-person voter impersonation. Correct?
                                                                13
                                                                       Salas Vela, Salvador Vela and -- those three. My
                                                                14
14
         A. I'm sorry. Would you repeat that one more
                                                                       understanding is that these involved a similar set of
                                                                15
15
                                                                       allegations. Am I correct about that?
       time?
                                                                16
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Objection; form, vague.
16
          Q. Sure.
                                                                         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Well, we'll just talk about
17
                I think as we previously testified, a
                                                                17
18
                                                                18
                                                                       them each individually, then. Let's start with Baudelia
       charge that reads ineligible voter, felon, does not
19
       encompass in-person voter impersonation. Correct?
                                                                19
                                                                       Zapata Rojas. The charge there is -- well, can you read
20
                                                                20
                                                                       for me what the charge is?
                MR. CLAY: Objection; misstates his prior
                                                                21
                                                                         A. Yes, sir. She was charged with unlawfully
21
       testimony. Objection; form.
22
               THE WITNESS: I would say that Martin --
                                                                22
                                                                       revealing information before the polls closed. That --
23
                                                                23
                                                                       that is typically a charge associated with somebody who
       or I'm sorry, Jesus Cano was charged with the allegation
24
       of illegal voting as a convicted felon. If you are
                                                                24
                                                                       actually worked in the elections -- or -- for the
25
       asking about the entire investigation of this case or --
                                                                       elections.
```

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33 (Pages 129 to 132)

```
129
                                                                                                                          131
 1
         O. Uh-huh.
                                                                   1
                                                                         mail or drop box or to the -- to the box out on the
 2
         A. So she was an election worker and she
                                                                   2
                                                                         street, and you're physically transporting that ballot,
 3
                                                                   3
       potentially could have been -- that charge means that
                                                                         you must identify yourself as a person on the carrier
 4
       someone could have been revealing information on who has
                                                                         envelope.
 5
       voted and who hasn't voted or what the numbers are of
                                                                   5
                                                                                 Obviously, if you handle more ballots than
 6
                                                                   6
                                                                         one, the punishment can be increased. Another way to
       the votes.
 7
                                                                   7
         Q. And the Grand Jury returned a no bill in her
                                                                         commit a violation of method of return marked ballot i
 8
       case. Is that correct?
                                                                   8
                                                                         if you possess that ballot without the voter's knowledge
 9
         A. That's my understanding. Yes, sir.
                                                                   9
                                                                         and consent. And in some investigations, people who are
10
         Q. And even as -- even as charged, the charge --
                                                                 10
                                                                         assisting voters with their mail-in ballots might
       her charges had nothing to do with in-person voter
11
                                                                 11
                                                                         collect ballots and then hand them to a third person
12
       impersonation. Is that correct?
                                                                 12
                                                                         without the voter's knowledge or consent. And that
13
         A. Yes, sir. She was not charged for any voter
                                                                 13
                                                                         person could be charged as well.
14
                                                                 14
                                                                           Q. Okay. So a charge or method of returning
       impersonation.
15
         Q. Okay. Moving down the line, Sylvia Vela,
                                                                 15
                                                                         marked ballot, then, if I understand it correctly, would
16
       Salvador Vela, are those cases related or is it just a
                                                                 16
                                                                         be unrelated to in-person voter impersonation. Correct?
17
                                                                 17
       coincidence they have the same name?
                                                                           A. There's nothing to indicate that she was
18
         A. I apologize. I don't -- I'm not familiar with
                                                                 18
                                                                         charged for in-person voter fraud.
19
       them.
                                                                 19
                                                                           Q. And so, again, as charged, those charging
20
         Q. Starting with -- starting with Sylvia Vela, we
                                                                 20
                                                                        allegations wouldn't have been anything SB14's photo ID
21
       have a general charge of illegal voting. Correct?
                                                                 21
                                                                        requirement would have prevented. Is that correct?
22
                                                                 22
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                           A. That's correct.
                                                                 23
23
         Q. And again, the jury returned a no bill there.
                                                                           Q. Moving down the line, Fermina Castillo.
24
       Correct?
                                                                 24
                                                                        That's, again, one count of illegal voting, ineligible
25
         A. Correct.
                                                                 25
                                                                        voter, felon. Correct?
                                                        130
                                                                                                                          132
 1
         Q. And do you recall anything about the -- the
                                                                           A. Yes, sir.
                                                                           Q. And there was a guilty plea in that case. Is
 2
       underlying nature of the charge of illegal voting?
                                                                  2
 3
         A. No, sir. I -- I'm not familiar which type of
                                                                   3
                                                                         that correct?
 4
       illegal voting it is, whether or not it's a felon, or
                                                                  4
                                                                           A. Yes, sir.
 5
                                                                  5
                                                                           Q. And, again, I think we previously established
       voter impersonation, or voting twice.
 6
                                                                  6
          Q. So sitting here today, you can't say that that
                                                                        that the charge of ineligible voter, felon does not
 7
                                                                  7
       charge encompassed -- you're not sure whether it
                                                                        encompass in-person voter impersonation. Correct?
 8
                                                                  8
       encompassed in-person voter impersonation?
                                                                           A. That's correct.
 9
         A. That's correct.
                                                                   9
                                                                                 MR. CLAY: Objection; misstates his prior
10
         Q. Salvador Vela, we have a mail -- a mail-in
                                                                 10
                                                                         testimony.
11
                                                                 11
       ballot violation, and the charge is listed method of
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) So as far as you're aware
12
                                                                 12
                                                                        sitting here today, Mr. Fermina Castillo's conduct, as
       returning marked ballot. Is that correct?
13
         A. Yes, sir, that's what it says.
                                                                 13
                                                                        charged, wouldn't have been anything that would be --
                                                                 14
14
          Q. Can you describe what those allegations and
                                                                         that SB14's photo ID requirement would have prevented.
15
                                                                 15
       charges would entail?
                                                                        Correct?
16
                                                                 16
                                                                           A. Correct.
          A. There are a number of different ways a suspect
17
       can commit a violation of method of returning marked
                                                                 17
                                                                           O. Moving on down the line, still on Texas I.R.
18
                                                                 18
                                                                        000260, we see Margarita Rangel Ozuna. And the
       ballot, and the punishment varies in some cases by the
19
       number of ballots that that person may possess or
                                                                 19
                                                                        allegations list mail-in ballot violations, forgery. Am
20
                                                                 20
                                                                        I reading that correctly?
       returns. If you are to assist a voter in the completion
21
                                                                 21
                                                                           A. Yes, sir.
       of a mail-in ballot, you must provide your personal
22
       identifying information on the actual mail-in ballot
                                                                 22
                                                                           Q. Then the charge is one count, assisting voter.
23
                                                                 23
                                                                        Is that correct?
       carrier envelope. And failure to do that could be a
24
       criminal offense. And, additionally, if you take or
                                                                 24
                                                                           A. Yes, sir.
25
                                                                 25
                                                                           Q. And can you explain to me generally what the
       carry a ballot for a voter to the post office or to a
```

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34 (Pages 133 to 136)

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135
                                                        133
       allegations are and the charges and how they -- how they
                                                                           Q. And they did that by staying in a hotel for
 1
                                                                   1
 2
       might differ?
                                                                         several nights and claiming that hotel location was
 3
         A. There is a potential charge for unlawfully
                                                                   3
                                                                        their residence?
 4
                                                                           A. Yes, sir. It's my understanding that they
       assisting a voter in the preparation of a mail-in ballot
 5
                                                                        changed their voter registration address to reflect that
       or as a poll-place violation. If you communicate by
       word, sign, or gesture how a person should -- I'm sorry.
 6
                                                                   6
 7
                                                                   7
       That's unlawfully influence -- unlawfully assisting a
                                                                           Q. And so as -- as charged, these -- these cases
 8
                                                                   8
                                                                        had nothing to do with in-person voter impersonation.
       voter could be preparing a ballot contrary to the way
                                                                   9
 9
                                                                        Is that correct?
       the voter instructed you to, or it could be providing
10
       assistance to somebody who is not eligible for
                                                                 10
                                                                           A. Yes, sir. That's correct.
                                                                 11
11
       assistance. It's an offense that's frequently
                                                                           Q. And they didn't have anything to do with
12
       associated with mail-in ballot violation.
                                                                 12
                                                                        noncitizens voting. Correct?
13
                                                                 13
         Q. So Ms. Azuna was not charged with in-person
                                                                           A. Nothing to do with noncitizens. Correct.
14
       voter impersonation, then. Correct?
                                                                 14
                                                                                 (Exhibit No. 6 marked)
15
         A. Correct.
                                                                 15
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Major Mitchell, you're being
16
         Q. She didn't attempt to vote as someone else in
                                                                 16
                                                                         handed what I believe is Exhibit No. 6. I'll give you a
17
                                                                 17
       person?
                                                                         minute to take a look at this.
18
         A. I only know what she was charged with, and that
                                                                 18
                                                                           A. Okav.
19
       wasn't voter impersonation, illegal voting.
                                                                 19
                                                                           Q. Have you seen this e-mail before?
20
         Q. She was not charged with voter impersonation?
                                                                 20
                                                                           A. No, sir.
21
         A. She was not charged.
                                                                 21
                                                                           Q. I just want to direct your attention to one --
22
         Q. So again, as charged, her conduct wouldn't have
                                                                 22
                                                                         one part of it, the last line of Page 1. Moving over to
23
       been anything that SB14's photo ID requirement would
                                                                 23
                                                                         Page 2, so it's the e-mail starting at the bottom.
24
      have prevented. Correct?
                                                                 24
                                                                         There's a sentence that reads (as read), "A few moments
25
         A. No, sir.
                                                                 25
                                                                         ago I concluded a conference call with the attorney
                                                        134
                                                                                                                          136
         Q. We have already discussed Mr. Almanza, which
                                                                   1
                                                                         general's office on the voter fraud in the June 23rd
 2
       then leaves us the last two, flipping the page to Texas
                                                                   2
                                                                         township election." And then it goes on to outline the
 3
      I.R. 000261. We have James Alan Jenkins and Adrian
                                                                   3
                                                                         appropriate procedures to follow under the OAG
 4
       Heath. Do you recall anything about the background of
                                                                   4
                                                                         guidelines. Do you see that?
      these allegations?
                                                                           A. Yes, sir.
                                                                   6
         A. Yes.
                                                                                 MR. CLAY: I'm sorry. Where are you?
         Q. What could you tell me about them?
                                                                   7
 7
                                                                                 MR. DUNBAR: Page two, which is Texas 0 --
         A. These two cases involve a special election
                                                                   8
                                                                         I'm sorry. The bottom of Page 1. It's the e-mail
 9
       which occurred in Montgomery County. This was for -- I
                                                                   9
                                                                         beginning on the very bottom of Page 1 from
       believe it was for a rural utility district, rural
                                                                 10
                                                                         Tommy Williams to James Stilwell and Bruce Tough and
                                                                 11
11
      utility district or municipal utility district, and
                                                                                 THE WITNESS: I'm sorry. I lost the
12
       these persons registered to vote at a hotel located
                                                                 12
                                                                         train -- where the question was -- I apologize.
13
       inside the geographical boundaries of that jurisdiction
                                                                 13
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) That's fine. But can you tell
                                                                 14
       and, therefore, were not residents -- real residents
                                                                         me who -- do you know who Tommy Williams is?
15
       under the law and so were ineligible to vote in that
                                                                 15
                                                                           A. I believe Tommy Williams is a state senator --
16
       election and they voted in that election.
                                                                 16
                                                                           Q. Uh-huh.
17
         Q. This is the case where the individuals were
                                                                 17
                                                                           A. -- on the Texas legislature.
18
                                                                 18
      upset about the decisions the utility board was making
                                                                           Q. So he's sending an e-mail to a few individuals
19
       and wanted to influence the outcome of the commissioner
                                                                 19
                                                                         saying that I just concluded a conference call with the
20
      election. Is that right?
                                                                 20
                                                                         Attorney General's office on voter fraud in the
21
         A. Yes, sir. It's my understanding that the
                                                                 21
                                                                         June 23rd township election. My question is whether you
22
       suspects in this case were -- were registering to the
                                                                 22
                                                                         participated in that conference call that he's
23
       vote in that election to -- to make an impact on the --
                                                                 23
                                                                         referencing?
24
       who the board members were for that municipal -- or
                                                                 24
                                                                           A. No, sir.
       utility district.
                                                                 25
                                                                           Q. Are you aware of who in the OAG's office may
```

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35 (Pages 137 to 140)

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137
                                                                                                                           139
 1
                                                                            Q. And for my clarification, which -- which page
       have participated in that conference call?
                                                                   1
 2
                                                                   2
                                                                         does the second part of the referral spreadsheet start
          A. No, sir.
                                                                   3
 3
          Q. But you recall the -- do you recall the
                                                                   4
                                                                            A. The second portion of the referral -- the
       referral for the allegations relating to this
 5
                                                                   5
       election -- election misconduct coming through your
                                                                         second categorization starts on Page 15 of the documen
 6
       office?
                                                                   6
                                                                         which is identified as TX I.R. 000247.
 7
                                                                   7
          A. Yes, sir. I believe we got -- in that
                                                                            Q. Thank you.
 8
                                                                   8
                                                                                 And the second part -- the second part
       particular case, I believe that the local district
 9
                                                                   9
                                                                         that begins on I.R. 000247, to make sure I understand
       attorney requested assistance as well as the secretary
10
                                                                  10
                                                                         your testimony, would be referrals from other sources
       of state's office issued a referral.
11
          Q. And do you know why Senator Williams took such
                                                                  11
                                                                         other than the secretary of state's office?
12
       an interest in this case?
                                                                  12
                                                                            A. Correct.
13
                                                                  13
         A. No, sir. I believe he's in that geographical
                                                                            Q. Okay. Starting with the --
14
                                                                  14
                                                                            A. If I could expand on that.
       area.
15
         Q. Right. Okay. And so of the -- of the 17
                                                                  15
                                                                            Q. Please.
16
       different cases since your last deposition, then, to sum
                                                                  16
                                                                            A. I'm sorry. It's not -- it's more than just
17
       up, one involve charges of in-person voter
                                                                  17
                                                                         referrals. It is allegations that this office had been
18
       impersonation. Is that correct?
                                                                  18
                                                                         made aware of. It may not be a full referral. For
19
         A. That's correct.
                                                                  19
                                                                         instance, you may see that some of these may be a voter
         Q. I would now like to talk about the, I think,
                                                                  20
                                                                         A voter may have called our office and made us aware of
20
21
       final part of your spreadsheet, which is the referral
                                                                  21
                                                                         an allegation of misconduct. It may not have resulted
22
       section, which is I.R. 000233 to I.R. 000254.
                                                                  22
                                                                         in an investigation as previously testified.
23
               MR. CLAY: Was the e-mail 6?
                                                                  23
                                                                            Q. I see. So the -- the hypothetical voter that
24
               THE REPORTER: The last one was 6.
                                                                  24
                                                                         we were talking about earlier that just might call AOG's
25
               MR. DUNBAR: I've lost track.
                                                                  25
                                                                         hotline and say, "I want to report voting fraud," I
                                                                                                                           140
                                                         138
         Q. (BY MR. CLAY) Okay. And can you tell me in
                                                                   1
 1
                                                                         believe you testified the person answering the call
 2
       general terms, then, what the referrals section of your
                                                                   2
                                                                         would direct them to the secretary of state's hotline,
       spreadsheet encompasses?
                                                                   3
                                                                         but you would still record that referral on this section
 4
         A. The spreadsheet is divided into two categories.
                                                                   4
                                                                         of the spread -- or somewhere in the referral section of
 5
       One would be direct referrals from the secretary of
                                                                         your spreadsheet?
 6
                                                                   6
       state's office. And that portion of the spreadsheet
                                                                            A. If it got to the attention of the law
 7
                                                                   7
                                                                         enforcement division. In some cases, our -- our
       would include the county.
 8
         Q. Uh-huh.
                                                                   8
                                                                         communications, public information and assistance are
 9
         A. The specific election involved what type it is:
                                                                   9
                                                                         successful in routing it to the SOS right away. In
10
       Municipal, special, constitutional, primary, general
                                                                  10
                                                                         other cases, some people persist and it comes to the lay
11
                                                                  11
       election, what the date of the referral document was
                                                                         enforcement division. And if they speak directly to a
12
                                                                  12
       from the secretary of state's office, and a general
                                                                         police officer or an investigator, we'll document that.
13
       explanation of what the allegations are as written in
                                                                  13
                                                                            Q. I see. And how often do -- does the persistent
                                                                  14
14
       the SOS referral letter.
                                                                         caller get through to speak to someone actually in SIU?
15
                The second portion of the spreadsheet is a
                                                                  15
                                                                            A. Not -- not very often.
16
                                                                  16
                                                                            Q. Okay. Okay. Well, starting with the first
       list of other complaints or allegations that have come
17
       into our office.
                                                                  17
                                                                         part of your referral spreadsheet -- and I appreciate
18
                                                                  18
                                                                         that clarification, because it goes to one of my
         Q. Uh-huh.
         A. They're categorized as either by the voter or
19
                                                                  19
                                                                         questions. By my count, starting on Texas I.R. 000237,
20
                                                                  20
       other. And if it is an other categorization, that
                                                                         which is Page 5 of your document, we have -- I'm using
21
                                                                  21
       generally is a law enforcement official, an elected
                                                                         the previous date that we've been using March 12th,
22
       district or county attorney, or a local elections
                                                                  22
                                                                         2012, it looks like starting with the entry -- it's
23
                                                                  23
                                                                         Angelina 2010 primary election 3/22/12, illegal voting.
       administrator. Again, with the information about the
24
       county, the election, or what the general allegations
                                                                  24
                                                                         Down would be the so-called new referral since your --
25
                                                                         since your last deposition. Am I interpreting your
       are.
```

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36 (Pages 141 to 144)

```
141
                                                                                                                          143
                                                                   1
                                                                         are -- that have been completed or simply never started?
 1
       spreadsheet correctly in that regard?
                                                                   2
 2
                                                                                MR. CLAY: Objection; form, foundation.
          A. Yes.
                                                                   3
 3
         Q. Okay. So everything -- everything that's on
                                                                                To the extent that you understand the
                                                                   4
       this spreadsheet as of February 18th, 2014 was still in
                                                                        question and have an answer, you can answer.
       some stage of investigation. Is that correct? Or would
                                                                   5
                                                                                THE WITNESS: I haven't done any analysis
                                                                   6
 6
       this -- let me rephrase.
                                                                        of how many are still pending or open or closed or --
                                                                   7
 7
               Would this spreadsheet encompass referrals
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Do you know how many pendir g
 8
       that have come over and then a decision has been made
                                                                   8
                                                                        Election Code investigations there are in SIU currently?
                                                                   9
                                                                           A. Not off the top of my head.
       either not to investigate or not to prosecute?
10
       A. This spreadsheet reflects the referrals that
                                                                  10
                                                                           Q. Would it be something like ten, or a hundred,
11
       would be made to this office and what the originating
                                                                 11
                                                                        or a thousand? What kind of rough ballpark of how many
12
       source was and what the date of that referral was.
                                                                  12
                                                                        investigations are actually considered ongoing at any
                                                                  13
                                                                        given time with respect to the election team?
13
         Q. So if I'm looking to take, for example, the
                                                                  14
14
       Angelina 2010 primary election referral, which has an
                                                                                MR. CLAY: Objection; vague. To the
                                                                  15
15
       SOS referral date of 3/22/12, its presence on this
                                                                         extent you understand his question, you can answer.
                                                                  16
16
       spreadsheet doesn't suggest that is as it continues to
                                                                                THE WITNESS: It depends on what the -- it
                                                                  17
17
       be a pending investigation. Am I understanding that
                                                                        depends on what the definition of open is. I mean, as
18
                                                                  18
                                                                         we discussed previously and I previously testified, the
       right?
19
         A. That spreadsheet does not reflect a disposition
                                                                  19
                                                                        only thing that we're statutorily bound by is the
                                                                  20
                                                                         statute of limitations and, technically, a case wouldn't
20
       of any investigation.
21
         Q. So this could -- it would -- this entry would
                                                                  21
                                                                         necessarily be completely closed until the statute of
22
       remain on your spreadsheet, even if your -- even if your
                                                                  22
                                                                        limitations is completely expired. Now, open and
23
       investigators had decided this case isn't -- there's
                                                                  23
                                                                        active, or open and inactive, there's a wide variety or
                                                                  24
24
       nothing to this case, or it's not worth prosecuting?
                                                                        there's a wide range of those categories. Each
25
         A. This -- the referrals will never be removed
                                                                  25
                                                                        investigator could have five, ten, twenty cases, some
                                                        142
                                                                                                                          144
 1
       from the spreadsheet. It's documenting all referrals
                                                                   1
 2
       that come into this office regardless of prosecution
                                                                   2
                                                                           Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) At any given time --
 3
       decisions or investigative decisions.
                                                                   3
                                                                           A. At any given time.
 4
         Q. So it wouldn't be correct to assume that
                                                                   4
                                                                           Q. -- ones that are active in some sense?
 5
       everything that's listed here remains a pending
                                                                   5
                                                                           A. Various stages of completion.
 6
                                                                   6
       investigation?
                                                                           Q. So using that rough estimate, then, if you have
 7
                                                                   7
         A. Again, this spreadsheet doesn't have anything
                                                                         four folks on the election team, twenty, maybe eighty,
                                                                   8
 8
       to do with -- about dispositions of cases.
                                                                         at most, active investigations that are being conducted
 9
         Q. And do you keep separate documentation on that?
                                                                   9
                                                                         at any given point in time?
10
         A. No. We keep the spreadsheet on prosecutions
                                                                  10
                                                                                  MR. CLAY: Objection; form.
                                                                  11
11
       and we keep the spreadsheet on cases pending.
                                                                                  To the extent that you understand the
12
                                                                 12
         Q. Uh-huh. But no -- you have no internal
                                                                         question, you can answer.
13
       documents that track the status of ongoing
                                                                 13
                                                                                  THE WITNESS: As I previously talked to
14
                                                                  14
       investigations and whether an investigation resulted in
                                                                         about -- is that at any given time, any of the other
       a recommendation of no prosecution or was simply stopped 15
                                                                         team members could have to accept -- may have to work
15
16
       for some other reason?
                                                                 16
                                                                         cases as well.
17
         A. Well, we have lots of records as law
                                                                  17
                                                                           O. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Uh-huh.
18
                                                                 18
       enforcement officers, including investigative reports,
                                                                           A. To help out a particular team. And some
19
       supplemental reports, spreadsheets, but not specifically
                                                                 19
                                                                         election cases have to be given to public integrity
20
       for just elections. We maintain spreadsheets for all
                                                                  20
                                                                         investigators or other fraud investigators. So they,
                                                                  21
21
       kinds of cases.
                                                                         too, themselves, could have a caseload of election
22
          Q. As a global matter, could you estimate what
                                                                  22
                                                                         cases. So you can't just use just the four on the team
23
                                                                  23
       percentage of the referrals that are listed on this
                                                                         to do a rough estimate.
24
       spreadsheet -- the SOS referrals since June of 2012
                                                                  24
                                                                           Q. Right. Right. Now, that's helpful. Again,
25
       remain pending investigations as opposed to those that
                                                                  25
                                                                         I'm only trying to get a rough ballpark for my
```

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37 (Pages 145 to 148)

```
145
                                                                                                                       147
                                                                 1
                                                                      the different counties mentioned in the spreadsheet and
 1
       understanding.
               Looking at Texas I.R. 000237. This is an
                                                                 2
 2
                                                                      the various elections mentioned in the spreadsheet.
 3
       entry that's one, two, three, four, five, six, seven --
                                                                 3
                                                                         Q. And these referrals were made shortly after or
 4
       seven up from the bottom. You have Gillespie County
                                                                       maybe even during the Section Five trial. Is that
 5
                                                                 5
       2012 municipal and primary election, an SOS referral
                                                                      correct?
 6
                                                                 6
       date of 7/12/2012, illegal -- illegal voting with
                                                                         A. The referral document date was 7/12/2012.
 7
                                                                 7
       respect to the allegation, parenthetical, voter
                                                                         Q. I believe, in fact, certain representatives of
 8
       impersonation, deceased voter. Am I reading all of that
                                                                 8
                                                                       states might even have testified about the possibility
 9
                                                                 9
                                                                       that there was this -- this new referrals of deceased
       correctly?
10
                                                                10
                                                                       voters voting coming over to the Attorney General's
         A. I'm sorry. Could you give me the cite, the
                                                                11
11
                                                                       office. Are you familiar with that testimony?
12
          Q. Sure. This is Page 5 of your own spreadsheet,
                                                                12
                                                                         A. I didn't listen to anybody else's testimony.
13
                                                                13
       which may be easier for you to use.
                                                                         Q. Do you know what the basis for SOS's referrals
14
         A. So you're referring to 000237?
                                                                14
                                                                       was, that is how in all of these different counties
15
                                                                15
                                                                       across the state they were able to make these various
         Q. Yes, sir.
         A. And Gillespie County?
16
                                                                16
                                                                       referrals of deceased voting?
                                                                17
         Q. Yes, sir. I think it's eight up from the
17
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Objection; form, foundation.
18
                                                                18
                                                                               THE WITNESS: Globally, when you're
       bottom.
19
         A. Yes, sir. Okay.
                                                                19
                                                                       talking about voter impersonation and deceased voters,
20
         Q. Starting with that and then going four pages of
                                                                20
                                                                       it could be that these individuals were identified
21
       the spreadsheet to Page -- well, actually carries over
                                                                21
                                                                       through deceased notifications of driver's license,
22
       to Page 13, Texas I.R. 000245, the very top entry, you
                                                                22
                                                                       Social Security, observed from the local elections
23
       have what appears to be hundreds of referrals that were
                                                                23
                                                                       administrators. There's a wide way -- a wide variety of
24
       made on the same day that all have the same allegation
                                                                24
                                                                       how deceased voters are identified.
25
       listed, which is illegal voting, voter impersonation,
                                                                25
                                                                         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) But you don't recall anything
                                                       146
                                                                                                                       148
 1
                                                                 1
                                                                      specifically about this bucket of a couple hundred
       deceased voter that were referred from the secretary of
 2
       state's office. Am I -- am I understanding that
                                                                 2
                                                                       referrals?
 3
                                                                 3
       spreadsheet correctly?
                                                                         A. I think it's 254 referrals.
 4
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                 4
                                                                         Q. 254.
 5
               MR. CLAY: Objection; form, foundation.
                                                                 5
                                                                         A. And I don't know specifically exactly how they
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And those are from counties
                                                                       were identified in each one.
                                                                 6
 7
       across Texas, it appears. Is that correct?
                                                                 7
                                                                         Q. But it is unusual -- and I'm just looking at
 8
         A. Yes, sir. There are multiple counties that are
                                                                 8
                                                                      your spreadsheet. At least there's no other occasion
 9
       listed in this -- in that -- in these referrals.
                                                                 9
                                                                      that I can tell where the secretary of state's office
10
         Q. Can you provide me any background on how these
                                                                10
                                                                      has sent over this volume of referrals at once, is
11
                                                               11
                                                                      there?
       referrals came from the secretary of state's office?
12
                                                               12
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Objection; form.
               MR. CLAY: Objection; form, foundation.
13
               To the extent you understand the question,
                                                               13
                                                                               THE WITNESS: There's one case that we
14
      you can answer.
                                                                14
                                                                       received allegations of illegal voting, voter
               THE WITNESS: These come to the
15
                                                               15
                                                                       impersonation with deceased voters out of Harris
16
       secretary -- these come from the secretary of state's
                                                               16
                                                                      County --
17
                                                                         O. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Uh-huh.
       office like all of our referrals come from the secretary
                                                                17
18
       of state's office. A packet was prepared that was
                                                                18
                                                                         A. -- which is also contained in the spreadsheet.
19
       referred to the director of law enforcement and then
                                                               19
                                                                         O. Uh-huh.
20
       given to our criminal justice intake division --
                                                                20
                                                                         A. When we received that referral it said that
21
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Uh-huh.
                                                                21
                                                                      there were 10,000 individuals.
22
         A. And containing allegations of deceased
                                                                22
                                                                         Q. Uh-huh.
23
       voters --
                                                                23
                                                                         A. So we do receive allegations of deceased voters
         Q. Uh-huh.
24
                                                                24
                                                                      in elections. It is atypical to get that many from
25
         A. -- who were voting in elections throughout all
                                                                      different jurisdictions.
```

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38 (Pages 149 to 152)

```
149
                                                                                                                               151
 1
         Q. And are the investigations relating to these
                                                                     1
                                                                                   MR. CLAY: Objection; form. I think it
 2
                                                                      2
       deceased voting referrals still ongoing?
                                                                           misstates his earlier testimony.
 3
                                                                     3
                                                                                   THE WITNESS: I -- I want to say I have a
         A. The spreadsheet doesn't indicate the
 4
                                                                      4
                                                                           memory of one that was determined to be a repeat.
       disposition of any of those cases.
 5
          Q. Do you know sitting here today?
                                                                     5
                                                                             Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) I see. But sitting here
 6
                                                                     6
          A. I don't know the number that are still ongoing
                                                                           today, that's the only one you can remember?
 7
       or closed or -- or in active status or --
                                                                             A. That's the only one that sticks out in my mind.
                                                                     8
 8
          Q. Could you give an estimate?
                                                                             Q. Okay. And I believe you answered my question,
                                                                     9
 9
                                                                           but just to make sure I understand your spreadsheet
          A. I don't know.
10
                                                                    10
                                                                           correctly, no charges against any voters in connection
          Q. But I assume -- you would know -- if it was,
                                                                    11
11
       say, all eighty of the cases that the election team was
                                                                           with these 7/12/2012 referrals have been filed.
                                                                    12
12
       investigating were related to these, you would probably
                                                                           Correct?
13
                                                                    13
                                                                             A. Not charged any suspects.
       know -- know that. Correct?
14
                                                                    14
                                                                             Q. And under what section of the election code
          A. Your investigative reports are reviewed at the
                                                                    15
15
                                                                           would those prosecutions occur?
       lieutenant level.
                                                                    16
16
          Q. Uh-huh.
                                                                             A. There's a couple of offenses that could be
17
                                                                    17
          A. And so there are -- you know, the investigative
                                                                           identified. If you impersonate a deceased voter, it
18
                                                                    18
       report is reviewed and the -- a determination is made by
                                                                           would be 64.012, illegal voting, voter impersonation.
19
       the investigator and the lieutenant and captain as to
                                                                    19
                                                                           If you had also voted as somebody else, if you voted as
20
                                                                    20
                                                                           yourself, you could be charged as a double vote, which
       whether or not this case is going to be closed or
21
       whether or not it's going to remain open. And at some
                                                                    21
                                                                           would be also on 64.012. You could also be charged for
22
                                                                    22
                                                                           tampering with a government record, which would be Penal
       point in time they do notify me that they're going to
23
                                                                    23
                                                                           Code 37.10.
       close a case. But I haven't kept any summary of which
24
       ones are still open or closed.
                                                                    24
                                                                             Q. And with respect to the allegations with
25
         Q. And so just with respect to these 7/12/2010
                                                                    25
                                                                           respect to this -- the 254 referrals, do you know
                                                          150
                                                                                                                              152
                                                                     1
                                                                           whether any of them involved allegations of -- do you
 1
       referrals, you -- sitting here today, you're not aware
 2
       of the status of any of them, that is whether the
                                                                     2
                                                                           know whether any of them involved allegations of use of
 3
       investigation is open, closed, inactive, et cetera?
                                                                           a forged student identification to vote?
 4
          A. None of the -- none of the ones that are on
                                                                     4
                                                                             A. No, sir, I don't know.
 5
                                                                             Q. What about an employer ID?
       7/12 have been referred for criminal prosecution. We
 6
                                                                     6
       haven't charged anybody, and we haven't resolved any of
                                                                             A. No, sir. I don't have any --
 7
       those cases yet.
                                                                              Q. Or I believe you mentioned previously to vote
                                                                     8
 8
          Q. You were jumping ahead to my next question.
                                                                           you could use a utility bill as a form of
       Which I will ask you just to make sure the record is
 9
                                                                     9
                                                                           identification. Sitting here today, do you know whether
10
                                                                    10
       clear. But I just meant from an invest -- from purely a
                                                                           any of these cases involved the use of utility bills as
                                                                    11
11
       status of the investigation standpoint is all I'm trying
                                                                           a form of identification?
12
                                                                    12
                                                                             A. No, sir. I don't have any specific information
       to understand, you're -- either with respect to any
                                                                    13
13
       specific referral or as a general matter, sitting here
                                                                           about that.
                                                                    14
                                                                              Q. And do you have specific information or do you
14
       today, you can't say anything about the status of those
15
                                                                    15
                                                                           know specific information about any of the -- of how the
       investigations?
16
                                                                    16
                                                                           alleged deceased voter voting occurred in the -- with
          A. I can't say if they're all inactive or active
17
                                                                    17
       or open, being -- you know, I can't give you an exact
                                                                           respect to these referrals?
18
                                                                    18
                                                                              A. Sitting here today, I don't really have much
       status for all 254 of those.
19
          Q. Do you know whether investigations actually
                                                                    19
                                                                           information, aside from what's on the spreadsheet which
20
                                                                    20
       began with respect to any of the 254?
                                                                           is the county where it occurred, the election that's
                                                                    21
21
          A. Yes. They -- they were investigated. We
                                                                           involved, whether or not it's municipal, and what the
                                                                    22
22
       opened investigations.
                                                                           date was it was referred. No, I don't have any -- any
23
                                                                    23
          Q. Okay. So none of the 254 were sort of screened
                                                                           more than that.
                                                                              Q. Right. And there's a lot of -- there's a lot
24
       out at the -- at the early stages through that process
                                                                    24
25
       we -- that informal process we were discussing earlier?
                                                                    25
                                                                           of ways that someone might attempt to impersonate a
```

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39 (Pages 153 to 156)

153 155 deceased voter and vote. Correct? 1 1 someone in the law enforcement division, they'll make a MR. CLAY: Objection; vague. 2 record of that contact. 3 3 THE WITNESS: Yes. We have cases where Q. So by -- by being present on this spreadsheet, voters have impersonated someone else, and that's been 4 this in no way suggests that -- that the SIU has done in different ways. 5 concluded that those allegations are credible in any 6 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And then turning to Texas I.R. 6 respect. Correct? 7 000245, which is Page 13 of your spreadsheet. 7 A. If I could answer as, because they're on the 8 A. (Witness complies). 8 spreadsheet, it does not indicate whether or not a full 9 9 investigation has been opened, if it is from a voter. Q. With respect -- this is, again, just with 10 respect to the status of these referrals, as I'm reading 10 Q. Right. So if a voter calls and makes -- is 11 11 the allegation section, I see one that involves voter persistent, as you said, and gets through to your 12 12 impersonation but relates to a mail-in ballot from office, an investigator listens to an allegation that I 13 Harris County. Is that correct? 13 saw in-person voter impersonation, that would make it on 14 14 to the spreadsheet without any further investigation by A. Yes, sir. 15 15 Q. And I see a second voter impersonation from that person to determine whether that allegation is --16 16 Hidalgo County in a 2011 municipal election, with the is credible in any sense? 17 SOS referral date of 2/12/13. Is that correct? 17 A. That's correct. 18 A. Yes, sir. 18 Q. Okay. The -- the final set of questions I want 19 Q. And do you know anything about the status of 19 to ask just relate to the -- the SIU in the wake of 20 either of those investigations? 20 after SB14 has started to be implemented. And I guess 21 MR. CLAY: Again, to the extent it doesn't 21 as a general matter, since -- since SB14 has been 22 22 implicate law enforcement privilege, you can answer. implemented in July of 2013 -- in particular its photo 23 THE WITNESS: No, sir. I'm not familiar 23 ID requirements, has that had any affect on the 24 with the status right now. 24 operation of the special investigations unit? 25 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And then flipping to the 25 A. No, sir. 154 156 1 second part of your referral spreadsheet, which is the 1 Q. So since that time you haven't dedicated either 2 2 more or less resources toward combating Election Code source of -- where the source of referral is not from 3 the secretary of state's office, dates of referrals are 3 violations? 4 not recorded here. Is that correct? 4 A. No, sir. You know, we have three to four 5 5 A. No, sir. They're not. investigators assigned. Right now we have four 6 6 Q. So it's a little bit harder to tell what the investigators assigned to that unit. It's no more than 7 quote/unquote different referrals are, but I just want 7 we had in 2012-'13. 8 8 to turn to the -- turn to Page 21, which is Texas I.R. Q. And in your -- has there been a change in the 9 000253. There are various allegations from 2012 general 9 number of Election Code referrals that have come to 10 10 election that relate to illegal voting, voter the -- that have come to the attention of SIU since SB14 11 11 impersonation, illegal voting, convicted felons. Do you became effective in July of 2013? 12 see those entries, Major Mitchell? 12 A. No. There's been no -- no significant change 13 13 A. Yes, sir. in the amount of referrals. 14 Q. And again, do you recall -- with respect to the 14 Q. And since SB14 became effective, have you 15 15 voter impersonation referrals in particular, do you changed in any way the way you investigate in-person 16 recall anything specific about the status of those 16 voter impersonation? 17 referrals? 17 A. There was one way that we have changed, and 18 A. All I can say is that none of those have been 18 that is in the manner in which we conduct our photo 19 added to the Prosecutions Resolved or charges pending. 19 lineups, our photo arrays when we're interviewing 20 20 Q. And to be clear, to make it on to this referral witnesses. That's changed as a matter of state statute 21 21 spreadsheet, would not even -- these referrals -- these and policy. 22 22 referrals, as I believe you testified earlier, could Q. Can you just briefly expand on that? I'm not 23 come from simply a voter on the phone identifying an 23 sure I'm familiar with that. 24 alleged conduct. Is that correct? 24 A. Previously, we would prepare what we, in law 25 25 enforcement, call a -- a photo array, where it involves A. Yes, sir. If they spoke -- if they speak to

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40 (Pages 157 to 160)

```
157
                                                                                                                      159
 1
                                                                1
                                                                         A. There's -- one way to impersonate a voter is
       six picture of suspects -- or six pictures of
                                                                2
 2
       individuals, one of whom may be a suspect. The -- the
                                                                       through mail-in ballot fraud.
                                                                3
 3
                                                                         Q. Right. And SB14's photo ID requirement doesn't
       policy has been changed now where we -- instead of
 4
                                                                4
                                                                      address that problem. Correct?
       having all of them on the same page, we now show our
 5
                                                                5
       pictures individually, if I'm able to describe myself.
                                                                         A. No.
                                                                6
 6
       We might have a stack of pictures that we show them.
                                                                         Q. So if I -- again, if I were someone who really
 7
                                                                7
         Q. I see. So other than that, there hasn't been
                                                                      wanted to cast a dead person's vote after SB14's photo
 8
                                                                8
                                                                      ID requirements, I might decide not to go to the polling
       any change?
                                                                9
 9
                                                                      place, but I could do so through absentee ballot fraud.
         A. No.
                                                               10
10
         Q. What about change in terms of priority SIU
                                                                      Is that correct?
                                                               11
11
       assigns to investigating or prosecuting in-person voter
                                                                         A. That is correct.
                                                               12
12
       impersonation?
                                                                         Q. And SB14's photo ID requirements don't do
13
                                                               13
                                                                      anything to address the other range of Election Code
         A. No. No change in priority.
14
                                                               14
                                                                      violations, other than in-person voter impersonation.
         Q. Part of -- part of SIU's mandate, as I
                                                               15
15
       understand it, is to train police departments, sheriff's
                                                                      Is that correct?
                                                                              MR. CLAY: Objection; vague.
                                                               16
16
       offices, district and county attorneys to help identify,
17
                                                               17
                                                                         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Well, does SB14's photo II
       investigate and prosecute election crimes. Is that
18
                                                               18
                                                                      requirement do anything to address a problem with voter
       correct?
                                                               19
19
         A. It was one of the things that we focused on
                                                                      coercion?
20
                                                               20
                                                                         A. Not to my knowledge.
       back in 2006.
21
         Q. Uh-huh. And is that type of training still
                                                               21
                                                                        Q. Or vote buying?
                                                               22
22
                                                                         A. No, sir.
23
         A. No. We haven't done anymore. The most recent 23
                                                                         Q. So if you were a group that was really intent
24
       initiative that we wrapped up was a human trafficking
                                                                      on trying to affect an election outcome, you -- there
25
       initiative where we trained officers throughout the
                                                                      would be other alternative ways that you could engage in
                                                      158
                                                                                                                      160
                                                                1
                                                                      election fraud that SB14's photo ID requirement couldn't
 1
       state in human trafficking investigations.
 2
                                                                2
         Q. And when was the last time you conducted
                                                                      do anything to prevent. Correct?
 3
                                                                 3
       training with respect to election crimes?
                                                                         A. If I may retract my previous answer. You made
 4
         A. Internally or externally?
                                                                4
                                                                      the statement of vote buying. It's been my experience
 5
         Q. I'm sorry. With police departments, sheriff
                                                                5
                                                                      that we have conducted criminal investigations of
 6
                                                                6
       offices, externally?
                                                                      coordinated efforts by individuals to facilitate illegal
 7
                                                                7
         A. That was all in 2006.
                                                                      voting. If the vote-buying effort was coordinated with
 8
                                                                8
         Q. 2006. So you've done no new training, then,
                                                                      a fraudulent ID, then that may have an impact.
 9
       since either SB14 was enacted or implemented with
                                                                9
                                                                         Q. Right. No, I understand that. My question is
10
                                                               10
       respect to how to go about identifying, investigating,
                                                                      if -- in a hypothetical sense, if you're a group that
                                                               11
11
                                                                      really wants to affect an election outcome after SB14,
       or prosecuting election crimes?
                                                               12
12
                                                                      doing so through in-person voter fraud is arguably
         A. No new training since that time.
13
         Q. And SB14, so I understand it -- SB14's photo ID
                                                               13
                                                                      harder. Correct?
14
       requirements don't apply to early voting or absentee
                                                               14
                                                                         A. I believe so. Yes, sir.
15
                                                               15
                                                                         Q. That's the intent of the law. Correct?
       ballots. Is that correct? Is that your understanding?
16
                                                               16
                                                                         A. (Witness nods head).
         A. Well, I disagree. It doesn't apply to mail-in
                                                               17
                                                                               THE REPORTER: I'm sorry. What was your
17
       ballot voting, but it does apply to early voting.
18
         Q. Sorry. So I should clarify. SB14's photo ID
                                                               18
                                                                      answer?
19
       requirements don't apply to early voting through an
                                                               19
                                                                               THE WITNESS: I believe it is much more
20
                                                               20
       absentee ballot. Is that correct?
                                                                      difficult.
21
                                                               21
                                                                         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) But that same group that
         A. That's correct.
22
         Q. So if I'm someone who is really intent, say, on
                                                               22
                                                                      wanted to affect an election outcome could -- could
23
       using a dead person's registration to vote, even after
                                                               23
                                                                      attempt to achieve that same result through a variety of
                                                               24
24
       SB14's photo ID requirements were incorrect, I could do
                                                                      other types of election fraud such as vote buying, vote
25
       so, just do so through an absentee ballot. Correct?
                                                                      coercion. Correct?
```

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41 (Pages 161 to 164)

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161
                                                                                                                        163
 1
               MR. CLAY: Objection; form, calls for
                                                                          Q. And how long have those four investigators
                                                                  1
 2
       speculation.
                                                                  2
                                                                        worked in your office?
 3
                                                                  3
               THE WITNESS: I believe that mail-in
                                                                          A. A couple have been in our office for about two
 4
       ballot fraud is still a means by which a person could
                                                                        years. Actually, I'd say three have been in our office
 5
                                                                  5
                                                                        for about two years, and then one has been in our office
       affect voter impersonation.
 6
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Outside the contents of
                                                                  6
                                                                        for maybe three or four years.
 7
                                                                  7
       absentee ballot voting there are other things that this
                                                                          Q. Okay. And you -- they either directly report
                                                                        to you or directly report to -- to someone under you.
 8
       group that really wants to affect an election outcome
                                                                  8
 9
                                                                  9
       could engage in, such as pressuring voters to vote in a
                                                                        Is that correct?
10
       certain way or buying votes. Correct?
                                                                 10
                                                                          A. Yes, ma'am. They report directly to somebody
11
               MR. CLAY: Same objection.
                                                                 11
                                                                        underneath me.
12
                THE WITNESS: I believe that those are
                                                                 12
                                                                          Q. So you're aware of their -- their job
13
                                                                13
       other ways that a person can commit a criminal offense
                                                                        performance and how they're doing. Correct?
14
                                                                 14
       associated with elections.
                                                                          A. Yes, ma'am.
15
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And SB14's photo ID
                                                                 15
                                                                          Q. And have you been happy so far with their job
16
       requirement doesn't do anything to stop that -- those
                                                                 16
                                                                        performance? Do you feel like they've been doing a good
17
                                                                 17
       types of voter fraud. Correct?
                                                                        job?
18
         A. Not specifically the photo requirement, no.
                                                                 18
                                                                          A. Yes, ma'am.
19
                MR. DUNBAR: Okay. That's all of my
                                                                 19
                                                                          Q. All right. Thank you. So you had mentioned
20
                                                                 20
       questions, subject to the caveat that I really -- and
                                                                        earlier in your deposition the different teams that are
21
       subject, obviously, to Major Mitchell's availability, I
                                                                 21
                                                                        housed within SIU. And you mentioned a -- a team that
22
                                                                 22
       know there are other folks that may want to answer
                                                                        you referred to, I think, at the end of your list as
23
                                                                 23
       questions -- ask questions. At some point, I'd like a
                                                                        kind of a fraud team, I think is what you called it.
24
       little time just to be able to look at the new documents
                                                                 24
                                                                        Could you explain a little bit more what -- what that
25
       with the hope that we can just ask questions about that
                                                                 25
                                                                        team consists of and what kind of work they do?
                                                                                                                        164
                                                        162
                                                                  1
 1
       and close the -- close the deposition down today. But
                                                                          A. Yes, ma'am. Statutorily back in 2008, the
 2
                                                                  2
       with that --
                                                                        Attorney General's office had the responsibility of help
 3
               MR. CLAY: Okay.
                                                                  3
                                                                        coordinating, at -- at the state level, a mortgage fraud
 4
               MR. DUNBAR: -- I'll pass to whoever -- to
                                                                  4
                                                                        task force.
 5
       whoever wants to go next.
                                                                          Q. Uh-huh.
 6
                                                                  6
                                                                          A. And so some of those investigators -- that --
               MS. CLARK: Is this a good time to take a
 7
       lunch break?
                                                                  7
                                                                        that team has done a lot of mortgage fraud
 8
               THE WITNESS: I'm fine. I can keep going.
                                                                  8
                                                                        investigations, but some of the other fraud
 9
               MR. CLAY: He's ready to keep going.
                                                                  9
                                                                        investigations that they get involved in are
10
               MR. DUNBAR: Let's go off the record.
                                                                 10
                                                                        investigations of like, for instance, as I explained,
11
                                                                 11
               (Off the record)
                                                                        crime victims' compensation fraud, where a claimant
12
                     EXAMINATION
                                                                 12
                                                                        might submit fraudulent receipts to get crime victims'
13
       BY MS. CLARK:
                                                                 13
                                                                        compensation benefits. Receipts could be something like
                                                                 14
14
         Q. Sir, this is Jennifer Clark from the Brennan
                                                                        for moving expenses that they didn't incur or re -- you
                                                                15
15
       Center, representing MALC and Texas NAACP. I will go
                                                                        know, rent that they didn't pay. So that's another
16
       ahead, Mr. Mitchell, and ask you a few questions, kind
                                                                 16
                                                                        example of fraud that they investigate.
17
       of circling back on some of your testimony from earlier.
                                                                 17
                                                                          Q. Okay. Does that -- so does the fraud team also
18
                                                                 18
                                                                        investigate any form of public benefits fraud?
       Please let me know if you are having trouble hearing me
19
       over the speaker phone. Okay?
                                                                 19
                                                                                MR. CLAY: Objection; vague.
20
                                                                 20
         A. Yes, ma'am.
                                                                                THE WITNESS: If you're -- an example of a
                                                                 21
21
         Q. Great. Thank you.
                                                                        case that they just are -- are ramping up is a case
22
               So you had testified earlier that there
                                                                 22
                                                                        involving a -- a -- an employee of the local housing
23
       are currently four investigators on the elections team.
                                                                 23
                                                                        development in Smithville, Texas. And the director of
24
       Is that right?
                                                                 2.4
                                                                        that organization was charged with stealing money from
25
         A. Yes, ma'am.
                                                                        the -- the housing development, and so that's an example
```

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43 (Pages 169 to 172)

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169
                                                                                                                      171
 1
                                                                1
                                                                              MR. CLAY: I'll object to the extent that
       have -- with four investigators, we are referral driven,
 2
       and that in and of itself is -- is more than enough work
                                                                       it would require Major Mitchell to divulge sensitive law
 3
       for us to handle.
                                                                3
                                                                      enforcement information.
         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) Why did you not reallocate arly
 4
                                                                4
                                                                               To the extent it doesn't, you can answer.
 5
       of your investigators to the elections team?
                                                                 5
                                                                               THE WITNESS: Yes. Some of our
 6
                                                                6
               MR. CLAY: Objection; form.
                                                                      investigations have involved larger groups of
 7
               THE WITNESS: When specifically are you
                                                                7
                                                                      individuals but who may not have been criminally
 8
                                                                8
       talking about?
 9
         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) You mentioned that with four
                                                                9
                                                                         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) Could you -- to the extent that
10
       investigators that referrals bring more than enough for
                                                               10
                                                                       you're able to, could you explain in what way that
11
                                                               11
       those four investigators to do, and I'm asking why you
                                                                       happens?
12
       did not make a decision to reallocate any investigators
                                                               12
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Again, to the extent that it
13
       to the elections team so that there could be more
                                                               13
                                                                       would require you to divulge sensitive law enforcement
14
       investigations pursued within that unit.
                                                               14
                                                                       information, you're instructed not to answer.
15
               MR. CLAY: Same objection.
                                                               15
                                                                       Otherwise, you can answer to the best of your ability.
16
               THE WITNESS: I haven't really thought
                                                               16
                                                                               THE WITNESS: Law enforcement officers may
17
                                                               17
       about that.
                                                                       receive information through contacting witnesses who
18
         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) Okay. So in the course of --
                                                               18
                                                                       provide us with additional information that may not be
19
       of following up on a referral, if you come to believe
                                                               19
                                                                       contained in the original allegation that was referred
20
                                                               20
       that an individual case may be part of a larger criminal
                                                                       to our office.
21
       conspiracy or may be connected to other cases, would you
                                                               21
                                                                         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) So --
22
                                                               22
       pursue an investigation of that based off of the
                                                                         A. They may have -- may have additional criminal
23
       individual original referral?
                                                               23
                                                                       activity that we weren't aware of.
24
               MR. CLAY: Objection; form, vague.
                                                               24
                                                                         Q. And are there any instances of that which
25
               THE WITNESS: Could you repeat that
                                                               25
                                                                      involve in-person voter impersonation fraud which are
                                                      170
                                                                                                                      172
 1
       question one more time?
                                                                1
                                                                       not reflected on the sheets that you provided as part of
 2
         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) Of course. So, for example,
                                                                 2
                                                                       the document production in this matter, and which you
 3
       correct me if I'm wrong, but your testimony earlier was
                                                                 3
                                                                       were testifying about earlier today?
 4
       that the elections team works off of referrals only. Is
                                                                 4
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Same objection, but you can
 5
                                                                 5
       that correct?
                                                                       answer, I think, without divulging sensitive law
                                                                 6
 6
         A. Yes, ma'am.
                                                                       enforcement information at a -- at a general level, at
         Q. So if in the process of a referral that had
                                                                 7
 7
                                                                       sort of a yes-or-no answer.
 8
       come from perhaps the secretary of state's office or
                                                                 8
                                                                               THE WITNESS: One more time, your
 9
       from a local district attorney's office, and it was a
                                                                9
                                                                       instruction.
10
       referral of a single case of some type of elections
                                                               10
                                                                               MR. CLAY: I think you can answer at a
                                                               11
       fraud, if in the course of investigating that your
                                                                       very general level. I think she's asking a yes-or-no
11
12
       office came to suspect that that was part of a -- a
                                                               12
                                                                       question. So I think an answer -- a yes-or-no answer
13
       larger conspiracy or a -- was connected to other cases
                                                               13
                                                                       would not implicate any sensitive law enforcement
                                                               14
14
       that had not been referred to you, was that something
                                                                       information.
       that you would pursue in an investigate -- in your
15
                                                               15
                                                                               THE WITNESS: Yes.
16
       investigation?
                                                               16
                                                                         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) So can you -- sir, can you
               MR. CLAY: Same objection.
17
                                                               17
                                                                       please clarify your testimony with just, yes, there are
                                                               18
18
               THE WITNESS: And if we had reason to
                                                                       some large criminal conspiracy matters involving voter
19
       believe the other criminal activity occurred in
                                                               19
                                                                       impersonation fraud that are not reflected on this shee
20
       connection to an investigation that we were already
                                                               20
                                                                       of Election Code referrals?
21
       conducting, we would investigate those allegations.
                                                               21
                                                                         A. I apologize. Repeat --
22
         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) And has -- has -- has that ever
                                                               22
                                                                               THE REPORTER: I'm sorry. Of election
23
       happened with any referral of -- of in-person voter
                                                               23
                                                                       "code" referrals or "vote" referrals?
24
       impersonation fraud? Has it ever led to a larger
                                                               24
                                                                               THE WITNESS: All of our --
       investigation with multiple suspected incidences?
                                                               25
                                                                               MS. CLARK: Code.
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44 (Pages 173 to 176)

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173
                                                                                                                         175
                THE REPORTER: Code, C-O-D-E?
                                                                           Q. In those circumstances, you -- they were
 1
                                                                  1
 2
                                                                  2
                                                                        detected by your office. Correct?
                MS. CLARK: Yes.
                                                                  3
 3
                THE REPORTER: Thank you.
                                                                          A. Or they were detected prior to the referral to
 4
                THE WITNESS: For -- for purpose of
                                                                        my office.
 5
                                                                  5
                                                                          Q. So that would not be undetected voter fraud.
       clarification, all of the investigations would be listed
 6
       on the referrals spreadsheet. There may be
                                                                  6
                                                                        That would have been detected. Correct?
 7
       investigations that do not appear on the criminal
                                                                  7
                                                                          A. That would have been detected fraud. Correct.
 8
                                                                  8
                                                                          Q. But there was insufficient information to -- to
       prosecution's or charges pending's spreadsheet that
 9
                                                                  9
                                                                        charge criminally. Correct?
       involve voter impersonation. The reason they're not is
                                                                 10
10
       because they haven't been charged or adjudicated.
                                                                           A. There's a -- a number of reasons why not to
11
          Q. (BY MS. CLARK) Okay. Thank you for that
                                                                 11
                                                                        charge a criminal offense. One of -- one of which may
12
       clarification.
                                                                 12
                                                                        be insufficient evidence.
13
                                                                 13
                                                                          Q. What are the other reasons, Mr. Mitchell?
         A. I apologize for the misunderstanding.
14
         O. Okay. So, Mr. Mitchell, I believe you
                                                                 14
                                                                          A. Another reason may be prosecutorial discretion,
15
       testified earlier that there are multiple ways to
                                                                 15
                                                                        would be another example. Culpable mental state. That
16
       impersonate dead voters, and in that testimony you
                                                                 16
                                                                        culpable mental state wasn't there.
17
       specifically discussed one case that was listed in the
                                                                 17
                                                                          Q. Any other reason?
18
       Election Code referral spreadsheet of -- of a woman
                                                                 18
                                                                          A. Not that I can think of right now.
19
       named Mary Comparin. Are there other ways beyond the
                                                                          Q. Thank you. So, Mr. Mitchell, do you believe
                                                                 19
                                                                        that SB14 will lead to an increase in voter
20
       way that Mary Comparin impersonated a dead voter that
                                                                 20
21
       you have seen?
                                                                 21
                                                                        impersonation fraud referrals to your office?
22
         A. There is a case out of Harris County involving
                                                                 22
                                                                           A. I wouldn't think it would lead to a -- an
       Jack Carol Crowder, III, which is on prosecutions
                                                                 23
                                                                        increase of illegal voting, no, ma'am.
24
       resolved, to which I testified at my deposition and also
                                                                 24
                                                                          Q. I'm sorry. I think there was a
25
       at the trial. And in that case, he used his father's
                                                                 25
                                                                        misunderstanding. I was just asking if SB14 will lead
                                                        174
                                                                                                                         176
       voter registration certificate to cast a ballot as if he
                                                                  1
                                                                        to an increase in the number of referrals to your
 2
                                                                  2
       were his deceased father.
                                                                        office. I'm sorry if that was unclear.
               There have been -- the case involving
                                                                  3
                                                                           A. No, ma'am. I -- I don't believe it will.
       what I testified today and previously where -- it's not
                                                                  4
                                                                           Q. Okay. Thank you. And, Mr. Mitchell, are you
       a deceased person, but they used their voter
                                                                  5
                                                                        aware that the -- the penalties for -- for voter
       registration certificate to vote as well. And the final
                                                                  6
                                                                        impersonation fraud in Texas is a -- is a prison
                                                                  7
       way is through the use of mail-in ballot fraud.
                                                                        sentence of two to 20 years and up to a $10,000 fine?
         Q. Thank you. So -- so those three ways you just
                                                                  8
                                                                          A. Illegal voting, yes, ma'am, is a -- is a second
 9
       discussed are the -- are the only ways you have seen?
                                                                  9
                                                                        degree felony, yes, ma'am.
                                                                           Q. Are you aware of any -- any federal law
10
         A. Those are the only cases that we've charged.
                                                                 10
         Q. Thank you. Mr. Mitchell, do you believe that
                                                                 11
11
                                                                        consequences to casting an illegal vote?
12
       there is undetected in-person voter impersonation fraud
                                                                 12
                                                                           A. No, ma'am.
13
       occurring in Texas?
                                                                 13
                                                                           Q. Would -- are you aware of the fact that under
14
         A. It is my opinion, yes.
                                                                 14
                                                                        federal law a nonUS citizen who commits voter fraud
             And what is your source for that opinion?
                                                                 15
15
                                                                        is -- is considered automatically deportable?
16
         A. Having conducted criminal investigations, and
                                                                 16
                                                                           A. No, ma'am.
       then reviewing criminal investigations of my staff, over
                                                                 17
                                                                           O. And are you aware that a person who is
18
                                                                 18
                                                                        prosecuted for voter fraud while ineligible to vote due
       my tenure here at this office.
19
         Q. So could you be more specific, or it's just
                                                                 19
                                                                        to a felony conviction faces additional prison time for
20
       your general instinct?
                                                                 20
                                                                        casting that ineligible vote?
         A. We -- we have conducted investigations that did
21
                                                                 21
                                                                           A. Are you talking federal statutes?
22
       not result in criminal charges, where we suspected voter
                                                                 22
                                                                           Q. Yes.
23
       impersonation occurred. And that is both through my
                                                                 23
                                                                           A. No. I'm not aware of federal statutes, ma'am
24
       experience as an investigator, investigating cases, and
                                                                 24
                                                                           Q. Do -- do these penalties that we just discussed
                                                                 25
                                                                        seem sufficiently severe to you?
       also as a supervisor reviewing investigative reports.
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45 (Pages 177 to 180)

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177
                                                                                                                      179
 1
               MR. CLAY: Objection; form.
                                                                1
                                                                      Mr. Mitchell. I have no more questions.
 2
                                                                 2
               THE WITNESS: I'm not sure what the
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: Others on the phone?
 3
                                                                 3
       penalty range as you've described under federal
                                                                               MR. ROSENBERG: Not from me.
 4
       statutes.
                                                                 4
                                                                               THE REPORTER: Who was --
 5
                                                                 5
                                                                               MR. GEAR: None for -- this is Bruce Gear.
         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) Let's just talk about the --
 6
       the second degree felony for -- for this -- this
                                                                6
                                                                      None for me.
 7
       Texas -- Texas state law that -- that you are familiar
                                                                7
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: And I guess we've lost
 8
       with. Does that seem sufficiently severe to you?
                                                                8
                                                                      Scott.
 9
               MR. CLAY: Objection; foundation, form.
                                                                9
                                                                               MR. BRAZIL: No, none from --
10
               THE WITNESS: I believe a second degree
                                                               10
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: Oh.
11
       felony is a very serious offense in Texas, with a --
                                                               11
                                                                               MR. BRAZIL: -- Scott, from Scott
12
       with a severe punishment, with a wide range of -- a
                                                               12
                                                                      Brazil.
13
       wind -- a wide range of sentencing latitude.
                                                               13
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: I think that's everyone,
14
         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) So what kind of person do you 14
                                                                      then. Correct?
15
       think would risk what you would classify as a -- as a
                                                               15
                                                                               MR. GEAR: I think that's correct.
16
       severe punishment for the low return of committing voter
                                                               16
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: I have a few follow-up
17
       fraud?
                                                               17
                                                                      questions on the documents. I don't know if you had any
18
               MR. CLAY: Objection; form.
                                                               18
                                                                      that you wanted to do -- how you wanted to sequence -
19
               THE WITNESS: I can only speak to the
                                                               19
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Oh, no. Go ahead.
20
                                                               20
       people that -- the investigations that we've conducted
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: Okay.
21
       and the investigations that -- that -- where we've
                                                               21
                                                                               MR. CLAY: If I have any --
22
                                                               22
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: You'll do it --
       identified witnesses and potentially even charged
23
                                                               23
                                                                               MR. CLAY: -- redirect. I'll do it after
       suspects. And we have had individuals who have voted
24
       illegally for as little as 5 to $10, or who have voted
                                                               24
                                                                      you're done.
25
       for $20 and risked that -- that punishment. So
                                                               25
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: Okay. Great.
                                                      178
                                                                                                                      180
 1
       there's -- there's a -- I mean, anybody is capable of --
                                                                1
                                                                                  FURTHER EXAMINATION
 2
                                                                 2
                                                                      BY MR. DUNBAR:
       of committing the crime.
                                                                        Q. Let's see. I apologize if I'm a little
 3
         Q. (BY MS. CLARK) So the -- the examples that you
 4
       just mentioned, are those people included on the
                                                                4
                                                                      disorganized here. I'm trying to make sense now of
 5
                                                                5
                                                                      these new documents, and I think I have them greatly
       Election Code referrals spreadsheets that we were
 6
                                                                6
                                                                      understood now, so I'm just going to hand them to you,
       talking about earlier today?
 7
         A. It would be listed in the referrals, yes,
                                                                7
                                                                      three new exhibits, since these are stapled separately.
 8
       ma'am.
                                                                8
                                                                              (Exhibit Nos. 7 and 8 marked)
 9
         Q. Thank you. And just -- just one more line of
                                                                9
                                                                        Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) Mr. Mitchell, I believe you
                                                               10
10
       questioning for you, Mr. Mitchell. In -- earlier you
                                                                      should have two new exhibits. And just as a purely
11
                                                               11
                                                                      factual question, these appear to me to be May 1st, 2014
       had discussed -- earlier in your testimony you discussed
12
                                                               12
                                                                      versions of the charges pending portion of the SIU
       the -- a referral from the secretary of state's office
                                                                       spreadsheet we've been talking about and the referrals
13
       of, I think, a large number of supposed dead voters. I
                                                               13
14
       think maybe approximately 250 or so from July of 2012.
                                                               14
                                                                      portion. Is that correct?
15
       Is that correct?
                                                               15
                                                                        A. Yes, sir.
                                                                        Q. And do you know, is there a May 1st, equivalent
16
                                                               16
         A. Yes, ma'am.
17
         O. And in your experience, your long experience in
                                                               17
                                                                      for the prosecutions resolved? I have a prosecutions
18
       law enforcement and working in elections fraud, have
                                                               18
                                                                      resolved from April 24th, and I just don't know if
       instances of -- of dead people -- alleged dead people
19
                                                               19
                                                                      that's the most recent, and I just want to make sure
20
                                                               20
       allegedly voting, has that been sometimes contributable
21
                                                               21
       to administrative error, whether at the county level in
                                                                        A. I -- at the time these were produced, the April
22
       providing death records or perhaps at the federal level,
                                                               22
                                                                      1 may have been the most recent one. As I -- I think
23
       the -- the Social Security index?
                                                               23
                                                                      testified earlier today, we just had some convictions a
24
                                                               24
         A. Yes, ma'am.
                                                                      the end of last month, and so there has been a more
25
               MS. CLARK: Okay. Thank you very much,
                                                                      recent one prepared.
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46 (Pages 181 to 184)

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183
                                                      181
 1
         Q. Than -- more recent than April 24th?
                                                                1
                                                                         A. Yes, sir.
         A. Yes, sir, I believe so.
                                                                 2
                                                                         Q. And which -- what are the names associated with
 3
         Q. Okay. It may be that it's somewhere in that
                                                                 3
                                                                       those cases?
      vast warehouse. So why don't we -- why don't we
                                                                         A. I'm sorry. I don't have those available right
                                                                 4
      admit -- why don't we use the 424, and then maybe I can
                                                                 5
                                                                       now, but it's in Cameron County.
 6
       just ask you questions about the result of prosecutions
                                                                 6
                                                                         Q. Do you know how many individuals were added?
                                                                 7
 7
       that might be different from that sheet.
                                                                         A. Six.
 8
               (Exhibit No. 9 marked)
                                                                8
                                                                         Q. Six. And can you describe the general
 9
                                                                9
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) All right. And so starting
                                                                      allegation -- the nature of the charges alleged in that
10
       with the -- starting with the May 1st, 2014 charges
                                                               10
11
                                                               11
       pending resolution spreadsheet -- and for those still
                                                                         A. Those are specifically a -- mail-in ballot
12
       listening on the phone, this is a document produced last
                                                               12
                                                                       violations and handling of mail-in ballots and
13
       night, I believe, TX0649837. And as compared to the
                                                               13
                                                                       unlawfully influencing or assisting voters --
14
       February 2014 spreadsheet we were using earlier, can you
                                                               14
                                                                         O. Okay.
15
       tell me what the differences are?
                                                               15
                                                                         A. -- with their mail-in ballot -- mail-in
         A. We're specifically talking about the charges
16
                                                               16
                                                                      ballots.
17
                                                               17
       pending?
                                                                         Q. So the charges have nothing to do with
18
         Q. Yes, sir.
                                                               18
                                                                      in-person voter impersonation. Correct?
19
                                                               19
                                                                         A. That's correct.
         A. I believe the difference is that two of the
20
                                                               20
       Montgomery County defendants were convicted.
                                                                               MR. CLAY: Kelly, and to the extent that
21
         Q. And which two? That -- it would be -- is that
                                                               21
                                                                       that's not in your documents, we're happy to get you an
22
       Margaret -- Roberta Margaret Cook and Sybil Lea Doyle?
                                                               22
                                                                       updated version of the charges pending --
23
         A. Yes, ma'am -- yes, sir. Yes, sir.
                                                               23
                                                                               MR. DUNBAR: I appreciate it. I
24
         Q. And so those would probably account, then, for
                                                               24
                                                                       appreciate it. Yeah.
25
       the two -- to the extent there is a May 1st version of
                                                               25
                                                                               MR. CLAY: -- that reflects those cases.
                                                       182
                                                                                                                      184
                                                                 1
 1
       the Prosecutions Resolved spreadsheet, the difference
                                                                              MR. DUNBAR: I appreciate that. It may
 2
                                                                 2
       would be the addition of moving those two names from
                                                                       very well be it's there.
 3
       pending to resolved?
                                                                 3
                                                                              MR. CLAY: Yeah.
 4
         A. Prosecutions resolved, yes, sir.
                                                                 4
                                                                              MR. DUNBAR: I may have missed it, but
 5
                                                                       this testimony is just as -- just as helpful.
         Q. And I believe we discussed earlier that these
                                                                        Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) So this -- this -- the
 6
                                                                6
       charges as charged involved ineligible voter
 7
                                                                      May 1st -- well, the after May 1st version of the
       allegations. Is that correct?
                                                                7
 8
         A. Yes, sir. That's correct.
                                                                8
                                                                      charges pending, the only difference that you're aware
 9
         Q. So, again, it may very well be in the record.
                                                                9
                                                                      of in terms of additions is these -- are these six new
10
       Those wouldn't -- those ineligible voter charges would
                                                               10
                                                                      individuals?
11
       not have encompassed allegations of in-person voter
                                                               11
                                                                        A. Well, actually, I believe that there were --
12
                                                               12
                                                                      there was another trial in Montgomery County in late
       impersonation?
13
         A. No, sir. They were not charged for in-person
                                                               13
                                                                      July.
                                                               14
14
       voter impersonation.
                                                                        Q. Okay.
                                                                        A. So -- where additional defendants were
15
         Q. Okay. And it looks like there are no new
                                                               15
       additions to the charges pending spreadsheet as of
16
                                                               16
                                                                      convicted in the Montgomery County case.
17
       May 1st. Am I reading that correctly?
                                                               17
                                                                        Q. So it's possible --
18
                                                               18
                                                                        A. That might have been moved additionally now to
         A. As of May 1st. But as I -- I testified
19
       previously today, we did get some new cases filed that
                                                               19
                                                                      the prosecutions resolved.
20
                                                               20
                                                                        Q. So the -- those remaining cases, then, if I am
       haven't -- that's one of the updates that -- the most
                                                               21
                                                                       understanding the state of play here, would be the
21
       recent update.
22
         Q. I see. So some folks have moved from the
                                                               22
                                                                      Thomas Curry and William Bernstsen?
23
       referrals category to the charges pending --
                                                               23
                                                                        A. And the -- the Goeddertz case. Yes. Yes, sir.
                                                               24
24
         A. Correct.
                                                                         Q. The Goeddertz case. Okay. And those were all
25
         Q. -- that aren't reflected here?
                                                                      convictions, you said?
```

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47 (Pages 185 to 188)

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185
                                                                                                                          187
 1
         A. Two of them were -- two of them were convicted
                                                                        allegations that were provided in the referral --
                                                                  2
                                                                           Q. Uh-huh.
      in late July and have now been moved to the prosecutions
 3
      resolved.
                                                                  3
                                                                           A. -- from the secretary of state's office.
         O. And those were ineligible voter charges again.
                                                                           O. Uh-huh.
 5
                                                                           A. I don't know what all the allegations in that
      Correct?
 6
         A. Correct.
                                                                        case may be eventually.
                                                                  7
 7
         Q. So with respect to the re -- the updated
                                                                           Q. You don't know one way or the other, then,
 8
       referrals spreadsheet, which those on the phone is
                                                                  8
                                                                        whether there could be --
 9
       TX0649815, this is dated May 1st, 2014. Is it -- is it
                                                                  9
                                                                           A. Correct.
10
       likely that there's a more recent version of this
                                                                 10
                                                                           Q. -- in-person voter impersonation?
11
       spreadsheet as well?
                                                                 11
                                                                                And the second part of the referral
                                                                         spreadsheet again is the undated one, which makes it a
12
         A. Yes, sir.
                                                                 12
13
               MR. DUNBAR: Okay. And, Reed, I just
                                                                         little harder to tell what's new. But I'm looking at
                                                                 13
14
                                                                        Page 21, which is TEX -- TX0649835. And, again, in
       renew the request.
                                                                 14
                                                                         terms of in-person voter impersonation, it looks like
15
               MR. CLAY: Yeah. Absolutely.
                                                                 15
16
         Q (BY MR. DUNBAR) Focusing on the secretary of
                                                                 16
                                                                        there's nothing different from the February 2014
                                                                         spreadsheet in terms of new referrals, unless I'm
17
       state referrals, and turning to Page 13, as best I can
                                                                 17
18
                                                                 18
                                                                        missing something. Do you agree?
       tell, it looks like there may be three new secretary of
                                                                           A. I would -- I would speculate -- I would believe
19
       state referrals since the February 2014 spreadsheet.
                                                                 19
20
                                                                        that the last three entries would be new entries, since
       And those are the ones on the bottom from Bexar County.
                                                                 20
21
         A. Yes, sir. Bexar County.
                                                                 21
                                                                        they involved the primary election, and that occurred in
         Q. Ah. Got it. Thank you. And the allegation
                                                                 22
22
                                                                        March.
                                                                           Q. In 2014?
23
      listed is abuse of official capacity, deputy voter
                                                                 23
24
      reg -- registrar. What -- what does -- what does that
                                                                 24
                                                                           A. Yes, sir.
25
      signify?
                                                                 25
                                                                           Q. And those three -- again, the allegations as
                                                        186
                                                                                                                          188
         A. Under state law, we have deputy voter
                                                                  1
                                                                        they have come to you from other relate to mail-in
 2
                                                                  2
      registrars who are basically volunteers who sign up to
                                                                        ballot violation, false information on application for a
      assist voters in their registration efforts throughout
                                                                        place on a ballot, and false information on application
      the state. Usually -- they're done usually county by
                                                                   4
                                                                        for place on a ballot. At least based on those
      county by county. You sign up with each county to serve
                                                                        descriptions, we don't know one way or the other whether
      as a volunteer deputy registrar to help register voters.
                                                                  6
                                                                        that would involve anything to do with in-person voter
                                                                  7
              As such, you're going to come into contact
                                                                        impersonation. Correct?
 8
       with voter information, and you're not allowed to record
                                                                  8
                                                                           A. Again, the spreadsheet just contains what that
 9
       or document any kind of information off that voter
                                                                  9
                                                                         was referred to us.
                                                                 10
10
      registration application.
                                                                           Q. And you don't know in your own head, not on the
                                                                 11
         Q. Uh-huh.
                                                                        spreadsheet, whether that's true or false?
11
         A. And so abuse of official capacity is violating
                                                                 12
12
                                                                           A. As I sit here today, no.
                                                                           Q. Okay. And remind me what other means, in terms
13
      any law governing the office of deputy voter registrar.
                                                                 13
14
       So one example is not documenting -- not copying what s
                                                                 14
                                                                        of source of referral.
15
       on the voter registration application. Another
                                                                 15
                                                                          A. The other means elected -- I should say
16
       violation would be not turning in a voter registration
                                                                 16
                                                                         district -- district or county attorney, law
                                                                 17
                                                                         enforcement, which includes state, local, or federal law
18
                                                                 18
         Q. I see. And so, again, the -- these referrals
                                                                         enforcement officials, or an elections administrator in
19
       wouldn't have anything to do with in-person voter
                                                                 19
                                                                        a geographical area.
20
       impersonation. Is that correct?
                                                                 20
                                                                           Q. All right. And then the Prosecutions Resolved
21
               MR. CLAY: Objection; vague.
                                                                 21
                                                                         spreadsheet that you think is more recent, that I don't
22
         Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) These three referrals don't
                                                                 22
                                                                         have in my hands right now, but it seems like you may
23
      involve allegations of in-person voter impersonation, as
                                                                 23
                                                                         have a good handle of what would be on the most recent
24
      I understand your description. Is that correct?
                                                                 24
                                                                         version if it was here, would reflect, as I understand
25
                                                                 25
         A. The -- this document specifically lists the
                                                                         it, the Montgomery County -- the successful Montgomer
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8/12/2014

48 (Pages 189 to 192)

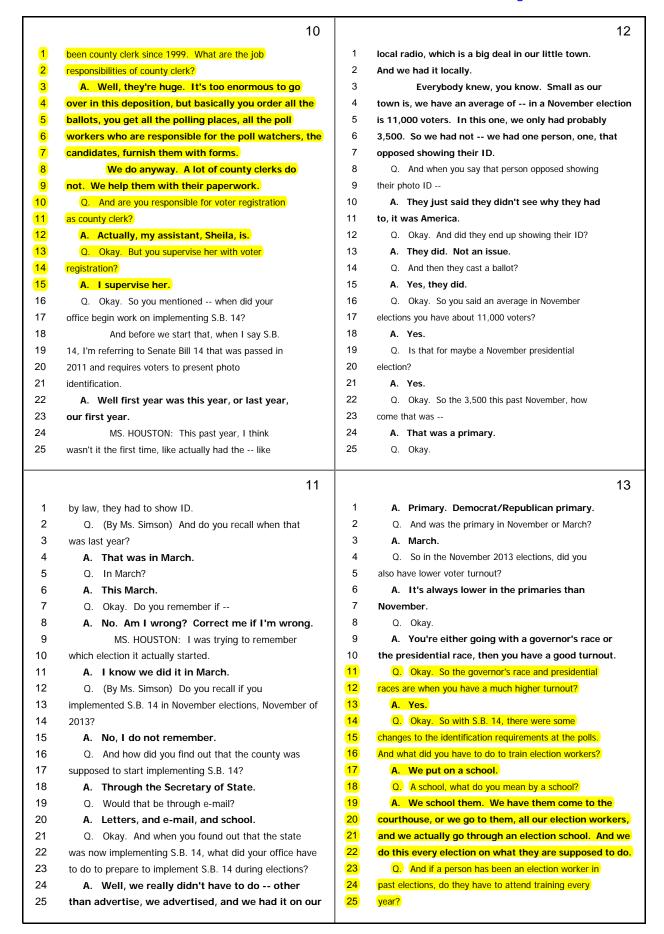
189 191 1 County prosecutions. Is that right? 1 what you would see on Exhibit 3 --2 2 A. Yes, sir. Q. Uh-huh. 3 Q. Would there be -- is there anything else that 3 A. -- which is an -- what we call an OAG case 4 would be on that spreadsheet in terms of prosecutions number. 5 5 resolved? Q. Uh-huh. 6 A. No. sir. 6 A. And the first two digits of that number are 7 Q. That's -- that's new since the February 2012 --7 going to be the calendar year in which -- or fiscal year 8 excuse me, 2014 version of the spreadsheet? 8 in which that investigation was opened. 9 9 A. No, sir. O. Uh-huh. 10 Q. Okay. All right. The final document is the 10 A. Investigation or prosecution was opened. And then the remaining numbers would be that file specifid. 11 one I need the most help with. I have my copy. Where 11 12 did the other copies go? 12 So if you look at the first line, it says 13390344, 13 (Exhibit No. 10 marked) 13 State of Texas versus Duval, 2012 election. 14 Q. (BY MR. DUNBAR) And, Major Mitchell, you've 14 Q. Uh-huh. 15 been handed what I believe is Exhibit 10, which is Bates 15 A. That is the OAG case file for that specific 16 Nos. TEX0650262 and TX0650261. Is this -- you -- you 16 investigation and/or prosecution. 17 testified earlier -- well, let me backtrack. Can you 17 Q. I guess what I'm confused about is I would -- I 18 tell me what this document is? 18 would have thought -- and we can look at the chart, but 19 A. As I testified to earlier, in response to this 19 between 2000 and 2014, there would have been far more 20 20 than ten Election Code prosecutions or investigations. litigation, I spoke with my staff and my coworkers, 21 including Sherry Papke (phonetic) and my office manager, 21 Correct? 22 22 Tamara Chandler, to request budget -- or cost printouts A. The time frame again? 23 23 associated with election violation investigations and Q. Well, I'm just going off the time frame -- the 24 prosecutions that our office has conducted. And those 24 time frame at the top of this document. It says 25 printouts come out -- there -- there are many pages to 25 September 1st, 2000 through March 31st, 2014. 190 192 1 1 that because it prints off each individual case number, A. Oh, yes. So there's -- there's more 2 as well as a total for the -- each division in the 2 investigations or -- and/or prosecutions than this 3 criminal prosecutions division and the criminal 3 document. 4 investigations law enforcement division. 4 Q. Okay. So what -- what universe of cases is 5 Q. Uh-huh. this document about? 6 6 A. And so this appears to be one of the pages that A. These are cases that are categorized as 7 7 show various case numbers, which are categorized in our election violations. And the time frame that we're 8 mainframe as election violation investigations. 8 talking about for these two pages is 2013 through 2014 9 Q. Uh-huh. 9 Q. Oh, I see. So although the top -- that's maybe 10 A. And the top of the page it shows that the query 10 what is confusing me. Although the dates at the top 11 11 period was from September 01, 2000 to March 31st of reflect September 1st, 2000, through March 31st, 2014, 12 12 that's -- this document reflects a smaller universe than 13 Q. Uh-huh. And corresponds to fiscal year 2001 13 that? 14 14 through 2014, on the next line? A. Yes, sir. 15 A. Correct. 15 Q. Okay. And you can tell that from the client Q. Is that correct? Okay. And so can you help 16 reference numbers. Is that what you're basing that on? 16 17 me --17 A. Yes, sir. 18 A. I can further explain if you like. 18 Q. So this, then, reflects -- this -- if I 19 Q. Yes, please. So each -- I guess starting with 19 understand things correctly, this would reflect 20 the client, the client reference numbers on the left --20 expenditures on Election Code investigations and 21 the left-hand column, each of those unique numbers would 21 prosecutions from some particular point in 2013 to 2014? 22 refer to a particular prosecution? 22 A. For these specific case numbers. 23 23 Q. How are those case numbers chosen? Do you A. Or investigation. 24 Q. Or investigation. 24 25 A. So the client reference number is similar to A. I think our computer randomly generates the

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1
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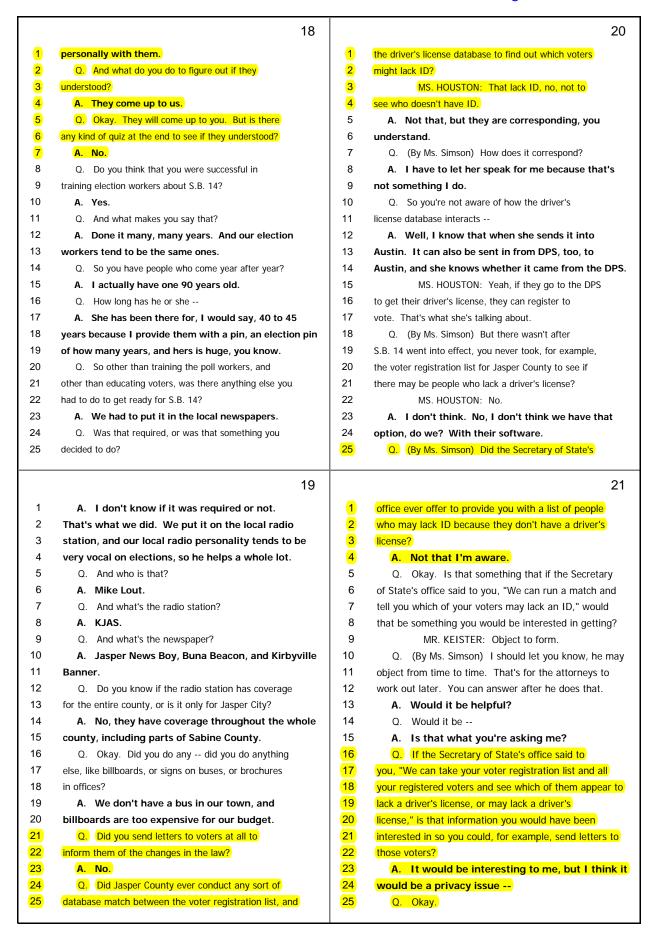
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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
1
            FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF TEXAS
2
               CORPUS CHRISTI DIVISION
3
     MARC VEASEY, JANE HAMILTON,
     SERGIO DELEON, FLOYD J. CARRIER,)
4
     ANNA BURNS. MICHAEL MONTEZ.
     PENNY POPE, OSCAR ORTIZ, KOBY
     OZIAS, JOHN MELLOR-CRUMMEY,
5
     JANE DOE, JOHN DOE, LEAGUE OF ) CIVIL ACTION NO.
     UNITED LATIN AMERICAN CITIZENS ) 2:13-CV-193 (NGR)
6
     (LULAC), AND DALLAS COUNTY, (lead case)
7
     TEXAS
8
     VS.
     RICK PERRY, Governor of Texas, )
9
     and JOHN STEEN, Texas Secretary)
     of State
10
11
     UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
12
     ٧.
13
     STATE OF TEXAS, JOHN STEEN, in ) CIVIL ACTION NO.
     his official capacity as Texas ) 2:13-CV-263 (NGR)
14
     Secretary of State, and STEVE ) (consolidated case)
15
     MCCRAW, in his official capacity)
     as Director of the Texas
     Department of Public Safety, )
16
17
     TEXAS STATE CONFERENCE OF NACCP )
18
     BRANCHES, AND THE MEXICAN
     AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE CAUCUS OF )
19
     THE TEXAS HOUSE OF
     REPRESENTATIVES.
20
     ٧.
                          CIVIL ACTION NO.
21
                        ) 2:13-CV-291 (NGR)
     JOHN STEEN, in his official ) (consolidated case)
22
     capacity as Texas Secretary of )
     State, and STEVE MCCRAW, in his )
     official capacity as Director of)
23
     the Texas Department of Public )
24
     Safety
25
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	2		4
1	*************	1	
2	ORAL DEPOSITION OF		APPEARANCES CONTINUED
3	DEBBIE NEWMAN	2	7 2
4	JULY 24, 2014	3	
5	************	4	ALSO PRESENT:
6		5	Ms. Sheila Houston
7	ORAL DEPOSITION of DEBBIE NEWMAN, produced as a	6	Wis. Strend Flodstoff
8	·	7	
	witness at the instance of the Plaintiffs, was taken in	8	
9	the above-styled and numbered cause on JULY 24, 2014,	9	
10	from 3:12 p.m. to 5:16 p.m., before Cynthia C. Miller,	10	
11	CSR in and for the State of Texas, reported by machine	11	
12	shorthand, at the offices of Wells, Payton, Greenberg &	12	
13	Hunt, 550 Fannin, Suite 600, Beaumont, Texas, pursuant	13	
14	to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and the	14	
15	following stipulation and waiver of counsel:	15	
16	IT WAS STIPULATED AND AGREED by and between	16	
17	counsel that if the original of said deposition is not	17	
18	signed or available at the time of trial or any hearing,	18	
19	an unsigned copy may be used in lieu thereof.	19	
20	- 19 9	20	
21		21	
22		22	
23		23	
		24	
24		25	
25		23	
	3		5
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2	FOR THE PLAINTIFFS:	2	INDEX
3	Ms. Emma Simson CAMPAIGN LEGAL CENTER	3	Page
4	215 E. Street, NE	4	Stipulations2
5	Washington, DC 20002 Tel: 202-736-2200, ext. 12	5	•
	Fax: 202-736-2222	6	Appearances3/4
6 7	Email: ESimson@campaignlegalcenter.org Mr. Chad W. Dunn	7	
	BRAZIL & DUNN	8	Testimony of DEDDIE NEWMAN
8	4201 Cypress Creek Pkwy, Suite 530 Houston, Texas 77068	9	Testimony of DEBBIE NEWMAN
9	Tel: 281-580-6310	10	Examination by Ms. Simson6
10	Fax: 281-580-6362 (fax) Email: chad@brazilanddunn.com	10	Examination by Mr. Gear54
11		11	,
12 13	FOR THE PLAINTIFF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: Mr. Bruce Gear (by telephone)	12	Examination by Mr. Keister74
	DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE		Further Examination by Ms. Simson96
14	Civil Rights Division 950 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. (NWB-7200)	13 14	
15	Washington, D.C. 20530	15	
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10			Reporter's Certificate106
	Email: bruce.gear@usdoj.gov		Reporter's Certificate106
17		17	Reporter's Certificate106
17 18	Email: bruce.gear@usdoj.gov FOR THE DEFENDANTS STATE OF TEXAS,		
17	Email: bruce.gear@usdoj.gov FOR THE DEFENDANTS STATE OF TEXAS, RICK PERRY, JOHN STEEN, AND STEVE McCRAW:	17 18 19	EXHIBITS
17 18 19 20	Email: bruce.gear@usdoj.gov FOR THE DEFENDANTS STATE OF TEXAS, RICK PERRY, JOHN STEEN, AND STEVE McCRAW: Mr. S. Ronald Keister DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR LITIGATION	17 18 19	EXHIBITS Newman Deposition Exhibit No. 174
17 18 19	Email: bruce.gear@usdoj.gov FOR THE DEFENDANTS STATE OF TEXAS, RICK PERRY, JOHN STEEN, AND STEVE McCRAW: Mr. S. Ronald Keister	17 18 19 20	EXHIBITS Newman Deposition Exhibit No. 1
17 18 19 20	Email: bruce.gear@usdoj.gov FOR THE DEFENDANTS STATE OF TEXAS, RICK PERRY, JOHN STEEN, AND STEVE McCRAW: Mr. S. Ronald Keister DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR LITIGATION Southern District of Texas No. 10418 209 West 14th Street Austin, Texas 70711	17 18 19 20 21	EXHIBITS Newman Deposition Exhibit No. 174 (Documents from County Clerk's Office)
17 18 19 20 21	Email: bruce.gear@usdoj.gov FOR THE DEFENDANTS STATE OF TEXAS, RICK PERRY, JOHN STEEN, AND STEVE McCRAW: Mr. S. Ronald Keister DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR LITIGATION Southern District of Texas No. 10418 209 West 14th Street Austin, Texas 70711 Tel: 512-475-0131	17 18 19 20 21 22	EXHIBITS Newman Deposition Exhibit No. 1
17 18 19 20 21 22 23	Email: bruce.gear@usdoj.gov FOR THE DEFENDANTS STATE OF TEXAS, RICK PERRY, JOHN STEEN, AND STEVE McCRAW: Mr. S. Ronald Keister DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR LITIGATION Southern District of Texas No. 10418 209 West 14th Street Austin, Texas 70711	17 18 19 20 21 22 23	EXHIBITS Newman Deposition Exhibit No. 1
17 18 19 20 21	Email: bruce.gear@usdoj.gov FOR THE DEFENDANTS STATE OF TEXAS, RICK PERRY, JOHN STEEN, AND STEVE McCRAW: Mr. S. Ronald Keister DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR LITIGATION Southern District of Texas No. 10418 209 West 14th Street Austin, Texas 70711 Tel: 512-475-0131 Fax: 512-475-2994	17 18 19 20 21 22	EXHIBITS Newman Deposition Exhibit No. 1

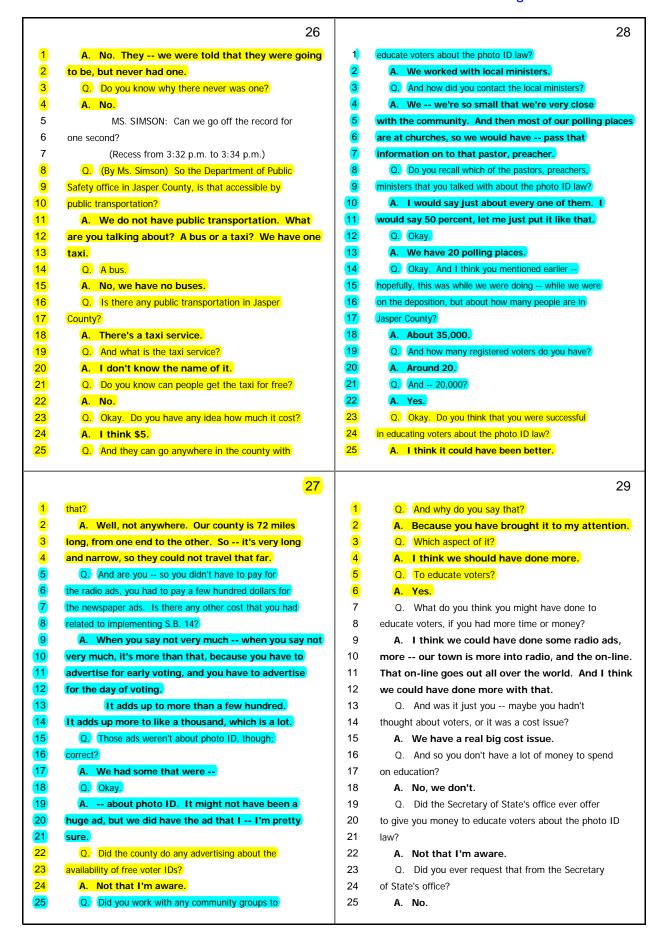
8 6 1 A. Thank you. DEBBIE NEWMAN. 1 2 2 having been first duly sworn, testified as follows: Q. So can you, first, start us off with a bit of 3 **EXAMINATION** 3 background about yourself, where you grew up, went to 4 4 BY MS. SIMSON: school, past jobs? Q. Can you go ahead and state your name for the 5 A. I grew up in Jasper, Texas, been there seven 6 6 record, please? generations, been married to my husband for 44 years, 7 7 and four years of high school. A. Debra Dale Newman. Better known as Debbie 8 8 Newman. I worked for Seal, Stauffer, Cofield & 9 Q. Okay. And are you the county clerk for Jasper 9 Busby law firm for 15 years. And I ran for county clerk 10 10 and been there ever since. That was in '99. County? 11 11 Q. You ran for county clerk in 1999? A. I am. 12 12 Q. My name is Emma Simson. This is Chad Dunn. A. Well, '98. 13 We are the attorneys for the Veasey-LULAC plaintiffs in 13 Q. '98. And you took the position in '99? 14 14 A. In '99. the lawsuit over the photo ID law. 15 Q. And did you run with a political party when 15 A. Okay. 16 you ran for office? 16 Q. You understand you are not a party to this 17 lawsuit? 17 A. I did. 18 18 A. I understand. Q. Which party was that? 19 19 Q. Have you ever been deposed before? A. Democrat. 20 20 A. Yes, I have. Q. Okay. And were you opposed? Q. How many times? 21 22 22 A. Once. Q. Okay. And so how often do you have to run for 23 23 Q. What was the case about? re-election for county clerk? 24 24 A. It was a car wreck that I was involved in. A. Every four years. 25 Q. Okay. And were you a party to that? 25 Q. Every four years. So are you up for an 7 9 1 1 A. Yes. election? 2 2 Q. And you were the plaintiff? A. Well, actually three, you know. 3 3 A. Correct. Q. Okay. Have you had any past jobs, other than 4 Q. Okay. So you've been deposed once before, but 4 county clerk, that related to elections in any way? 5 5 just to go over some ground rules that will make this go 6 6 smoothly. The first is if I ask you a question and you Q. Okay. So you received a deposition notice for 7 7 don't understand, please let me know and I will try to today that asked you to bring some documents. Did you 8 bring any documents? 8 rephrase it so it makes sense. 9 A. We brought what we had. 9 A. I understand. 10 Q. Then the second is we try to avoid talking 10 Q. Okay. 11 over each other, because she's trying to get everything 11 A. And I don't think it's really what you want. 12 12 down, so I will do my best to let you finish your answer 13 13 before I ask my next question, and I'll ask that you do A. I'm going to give you what Sheila has given 14 the same and wait until I finish a question before you 14 me, because this is more her expertise. 15 15 answer. Q. Okay. And are these all of the documents that 16 16 are responsive to the request? A. Understood. 17 17 A. That's all we have. Q. The next thing is that you have provided 18 verbal answers like you've been doing so far, just so 18 Q. Okay. 19 that she can get this down on the record. Does that 19 A. You asked for --20 make sense? 20 MS. HOUSTON: We had the simple ballot 21 21 A. Correct. already in those results right there, and she just had 22 22 me to do the summary of the constitutional run-off and Q. And the last is I don't think this should take 23 too long, but if you need a break, please let me know, 23 primaries. 24 and we'll finish up whatever line of questions we're on, 24 A. But you wanted provisional, and we had none. 25 and we can take a break. 25 Q. (By Ms. Simson) Okay. Excellent. So you've



	14		16
1	A. They do.	1	training after S.B. 14?
2	Q. They do?	2	A. Yes, we had to, you know, put that into
3	A. Yes.	3	perspective with everything. We had to make sure that
4	Q. And when you say "school," can you describe	4	everybody knew. And we emphasized it so it was so
	his school?	5	important, we emphasized it.
6	A. We actually go through the whole synopsis of	6	Q. And emphasized that there is now a photo ID
	now to hold the election, how to cast the ballot, how to	7	requirement?
	nandle the election worker I mean, the election	8	A. Yes.
	well, I can't think of the word now.	9	Q. To make sure they ask voters for ID?
10	The voter, the voter, how to handle them	10	A. We also said, you know, if someone says,
	n any situation.	11	"Where do I get this, I don't have one," we would let
12	Q. Okay. And is it so it's in person?	12	them know that they could go to the local DPS.
13	A. Yes.	13	Q. And so you had to let the election workers
14	Q. And about how many hours, or how many days is	14	know where the voters could go get IDs?
	his school?	15	* *
		16	A. Yes, we trained them.
16 17	A. We hold an election in Jasper that is we		Q. Okay. And how many election workers, roughly,
	nave five towns in our county. We hold one in Jasper, and we hold one in Buna. Buna is locally situated, you	17 18	do you have in Jasper County?
		19	A. I would say 100.
	know, for everybody.		Q. Around 100?
20	And that makes it we have one at	20	A. Around 100.
	2:00 o'clock, we have one at 6:00 o'clock where	21	Q. And did you have training materials that you
	everybody can attend.	22	used at the school?
23	Q. So is it about a few hours?	23	A. Yes.
24	A. No, it runs about an hour-and-a-half, and then	24	Q. And did you bring those with you today?
25 v	we have usually we have desserts.	25	A. No.
	15		17
1	Q. Okay. So people attend about an	1	Q. Is that something if we
2 h	nour-and-a-half training. Do they also have to do a	2	A. Well, we use the book that we get from the
3 t	training on-line?	3	Secretary of State.
4	A. They can choose to train on-line.	4	Q. So you use exactly the materials they give?
5	Q. Okay.	5	A. Exactly. And we also use a tape that is
6	A. And some of them do do that.	6	furnished by the Secretary of State. And then we just
7	Q. So that's voluntary on-line?	7	do a local person-to-person instructions.
8	A. That's voluntary.	8	Q. Okay. And do you have any idea how many of
9	Q. And so when you're at a polling place on	9	the election workers do the voluntary on-line training?
10 €	election day, how many people are working at the poll?	10	A. Not very many. I would say no more than five.
11	A. You have a mandatory three.	11	Q. Is the content of the on-line training pretty
12	Q. Mandatory three. And is there some person who	12	similar to the content of your training?
13 i	s supervising?	13	A. Yes.
14	A. You have your judge, your alternate judge, and	14	Q. At the end of your training
15 y	your election worker.	15	A. It's actually the tape, I'm sorry.
16	Q. And those are the three people?	16	Q. Okay.
17	A. And on the bigger ones, we have up to five to	17	A. It's the tape that the Secretary of State
18 5	six.	18	provides, they just look at it on-line. Then they get a
19	Q. Okay. And do they all attend the same	19	certificate.
20 t	raining?	20	Q. And you also show the tape at the training?
21	A. Yes.	21	A. Correct.
22	Q. Okay. And who runs the training for the	22	Q. Okay. Do you do anything at the end of the
	election workers?	23	training to make sure that election judges understood
23 e			
23 e	A. Myself, and Diana South.	24	what you train them on?



	22		24
1	A for the voter.	1	assistant, because she handles that.
2	Q. Okay. Other than the radio ads and the	2	Q. So you're not sure if the county placed an ad
3	newspaper ads, was there anything else that you did to	3	about photo ID in the newspaper?
4	educate voters?	4	A. I am 90 percent they did.
5	A. Also, there is on-line with the radio station.	5	Q. They did, or did not?
6	Q. The radio station's Web site had something?	6	A. Did.
7	A. Yes. And our Web site also provided	7	Q. Okay. And the radio ads that you mentioned
8	information.	8	that were voluntary by the radio station, were those
9	Q. That's the county clerk's office?	9	about elections, or were those about photo ID?
10	A. No, the Jasper County.	10	A. Elections.
11	Q. Jasper County Web site. Anything else that	11	Q. Okay. So they didn't specifically advertise
12	you did to educate voters?	12	you need a photo ID to vote now?
13	A. No.	13	A. No, it was voluntary on the radio station.
14	Q. Did you have to so talking about the radio	14	Q. Was there any education or outreach to voters
15	ads, do you recall when those were aired?	15	specifically about the photo ID law?
16	A. No, because it was voluntary. It's not	16	A. I would say no.
17	something we paid for.	17	Q. Okay. Do you know if there was any education
18	Q. Okay. So you did not have to pay for the	18	to voters about the election identification
19	radio ads?	19	certification, or the EIC?
20	A. Huh-uh.	20	A. Not that I'm aware of.
21	Q. And is do you have do you frequently	21	Q. And when I say the EIC, do you know what I'm
22	have the radio volunteer to put things on the radio	22	referring to?
23	station for you?	23	A. No, I really don't.
24	A. Yes. But they're non-biased.	24	Q. Okay. Are you aware that under S.B. 14 there
25	Q. And in the newspaper, did you have to pay to	25	is a free election ID that voters can obtain called an
1 2	place those ads? A. Yes.	1	election identification certificate?
3		1 2	A I'm not Were you?
4	Q. And do you recall how much that cost?	2 3	A. I'm not. Were you? MS_HOUSTON: What I was told, they could
4	Q. And do you recall how much that cost? A. All three are different prices. Jasper being	3	MS. HOUSTON: What I was told, they could
	A. All three are different prices. Jasper being	3 4	MS. HOUSTON: What I was told, they could go to the DPS office to get a photo ID. That was
5	A. All three are different prices. Jasper being the highest at around \$100. Kirbyville being the	3 4 5	MS. HOUSTON: What I was told, they could go to the DPS office to get a photo ID. That was supposed to be free.
5 6	A. All three are different prices. Jasper being the highest at around \$100. Kirbyville being the other two being probably 60, 40.	3 4 5 6	MS. HOUSTON: What I was told, they could go to the DPS office to get a photo ID. That was supposed to be free. Q. (By Ms. Simson) And you're aware of this?
5 6 7	A. All three are different prices. Jasper being the highest at around \$100. Kirbyville being the other two being probably 60, 40. Q. And so did you and you didn't have to pay	3 4 5 6 7	MS. HOUSTON: What I was told, they could go to the DPS office to get a photo ID. That was supposed to be free. Q. (By Ms. Simson) And you're aware of this? A. I am.
5 6	A. All three are different prices. Jasper being the highest at around \$100. Kirbyville being the other two being probably 60, 40. Q. And so did you and you didn't have to pay the radio anything to put the ad up on the Web site?	3 4 5 6 7 8	MS. HOUSTON: What I was told, they could go to the DPS office to get a photo ID. That was supposed to be free. Q. (By Ms. Simson) And you're aware of this? A. I am. Q. But you're not sure if that's the election
5 6 7 8 9	A. All three are different prices. Jasper being the highest at around \$100. Kirbyville being the other two being probably 60, 40. Q. And so did you and you didn't have to pay the radio anything to put the ad up on the Web site? A. No.	3 4 5 6 7 8	MS. HOUSTON: What I was told, they could go to the DPS office to get a photo ID. That was supposed to be free. Q. (By Ms. Simson) And you're aware of this? A. I am. Q. But you're not sure if that's the election identification certificate?
5 6 7 8	A. All three are different prices. Jasper being the highest at around \$100. Kirbyville being the other two being probably 60, 40. Q. And so did you and you didn't have to pay the radio anything to put the ad up on the Web site? A. No. Q. Okay. And on the radio station, was that kind	3 4 5 6 7 8 9	MS. HOUSTON: What I was told, they could go to the DPS office to get a photo ID. That was supposed to be free. Q. (By Ms. Simson) And you're aware of this? A. I am. Q. But you're not sure if that's the election identification certificate? A. It's a photo ID.
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5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	A. All three are different prices. Jasper being the highest at around \$100. Kirbyville being the other two being probably 60, 40. Q. And so did you and you didn't have to pay the radio anything to put the ad up on the Web site? A. No. Q. Okay. And on the radio station, was that kind of a public service announcement, or an A. Yes. Q. Okay. And so you spent, it sounds like, a few hundred dollars on newspaper ads. Do you recall when those were placed? A. It's mandatory when you have to place them. We placed them upon when the Secretary of State told us to. Q. So these were notices the notices in the	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	MS. HOUSTON: What I was told, they could go to the DPS office to get a photo ID. That was supposed to be free. Q. (By Ms. Simson) And you're aware of this? A. I am. Q. But you're not sure if that's the election identification certificate? A. It's a photo ID. Q. Okay. And is the as far as you're aware, is the Department of Public Safety the only place that a person can obtain is the Department of Public Safety office the only place a person can obtain one of the free IDs for voting? A. Yes. Q. Do you know how many locations there are in Jasper County for driver's license offices?
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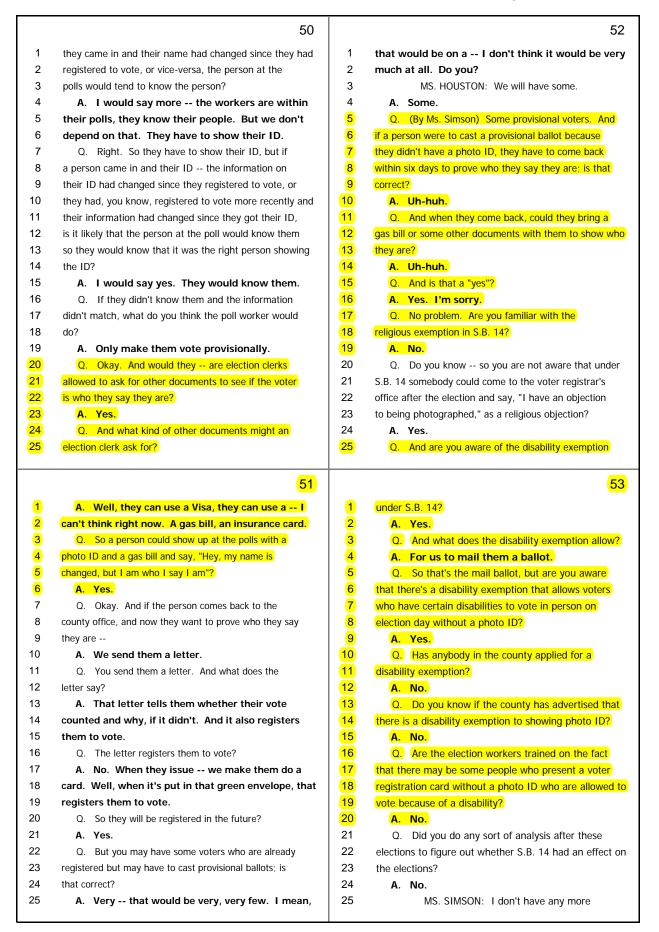


	30		32
1	Q. Are you aware of what any other counties have	1	A. No.
2	done to educate voters about the photo ID law?	2	Q. So as far as you're aware, there were never
3	A. No.	3	any mobile units to issue free voter IDs in Jasper
4	Q. Okay. So you mentioned I believe you	4	County?
5	mentioned earlier that there were no provisional ballots	5	A. No.
6	cast because of an ID issue?	6	Q. Okay. Did you ever testify in front of the
7	A. No.	7	legislature about voter ID laws?
8	Q. And that's during any of the elections that	8	A. No.
9	S.B. 14 has been in effect?	9	Q. Did you ever talk to any legislators about
10	A. Correct.	10	them?
<mark>11</mark>	Q. Now, the free photo ID cards that are that	11	A. No.
12	voters may obtain, these are called the election	12	Q. Has anyone from the Secretary of State's
13	identification certificates. I may refer to them as	13	office ever contacted you to ask for feedback about ho
14	EICs. Does the county have the authority to issue those	14	the voter ID law was implemented?
15	IDs?	15	A. No.
16	A. No.	16	Q. Has anyone from DPS ever contacted you about
17	Q. Are you aware if other counties have the	17	the availability of free voter ID cards at their office?
18	authority to issue those IDs?	18	A. No.
19	A. No.	19	Q. Has anyone from DPS ever contacted you abou
20	Q. Have you ever asked the Secretary of State's	20	voters who needed IDs?
21	office if you could get authority to issue those IDs?	21	A. No.
22	A. No.	22	Q. Has anybody at DPS have you had any
23	Q. (If I told you that some other counties have)	23	conversations with anybody at DPS about voter ID?
24	the authority to issue these free voter ID cards, is	24	A. Only on a personal level, and it's not it
25	that something you would be interested in being able to	25	would not be in my capacity as county clerk.
	31		3:
	31 do?	1	Q. And what was the nature of those
1 2		1 2	Q. And what was the nature of those
2	do? A. Yes.	2	Q. And what was the nature of those conversations? Who was the person at DPS?
2	A. Yes.Q. Do you know if DPS in Jasper do you know if	3	Q. And what was the nature of those
2 3 4	A. Yes. Q. Do you know if DPS in Jasper do you know if the DPS office in Jasper ever did extended hours for	3 4	 Q. And what was the nature of those conversations? Who was the person at DPS? A. I'd rather not say. Q. What was the content what was the kind of
2 3 4 5	do? A. Yes. Q. Do you know if DPS in Jasper do you know if the DPS office in Jasper ever did extended hours for people who may need to get an ID to vote?	3 4 5	 Q. And what was the nature of those conversations? Who was the person at DPS? A. I'd rather not say. Q. What was the content what was the kind of content of those conversations?
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2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 11 12 13	A. Yes. Q. Do you know if DPS in Jasper do you know if the DPS office in Jasper ever did extended hours for people who may need to get an ID to vote? A. Absolutely not. Q. Okay. So you don't think they ever opened on Saturdays to offer photo ID? A. Absolutely not. We don't want to go there. Q. What do you mean by that? A. No comment. Q. Okay. The mobile EIC units that you mentioned before, you said the Secretary of State's office may have offered them, but it never happened, or you never heard anything; is that correct?	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15	O. And what was the nature of those conversations? Who was the person at DPS? A. I'd rather not say. Q. What was the content what was the kind of content of those conversations? A. It's a large job. There's only two women there for the whole county. Q. So did they express concerns about their capacity to issue free voter IDs? A. Yes. Q. They did? A. On a personal level, not as in their work capacity. Q. Certainly. Have you spoken with anyone from the Secretary of State's office at any time about
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2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 11 12 11 13 14 15	A. Yes. Q. Do you know if DPS in Jasper do you know if the DPS office in Jasper ever did extended hours for people who may need to get an ID to vote? A. Absolutely not. Q. Okay. So you don't think they ever opened on Saturdays to offer photo ID? A. Absolutely not. We don't want to go there. Q. What do you mean by that? A. No comment. Q. Okay. The mobile EIC units that you mentioned before, you said the Secretary of State's office may have offered them, but it never happened, or you never heard anything; is that correct? A. Our Congressman James White's office brought it to our attention, but we didn't hear anything else,	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	Q. And what was the nature of those conversations? Who was the person at DPS? A. I'd rather not say. Q. What was the content what was the kind of content of those conversations? A. It's a large job. There's only two women there for the whole county. Q. So did they express concerns about their capacity to issue free voter IDs? A. Yes. Q. They did? A. On a personal level, not as in their work capacity. Q. Certainly. Have you spoken with anyone from the Secretary of State's office at any time about S.B. 14? A. I have not. Now, some of my staff may have
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9 10 11 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	A. Yes. Q. Do you know if DPS in Jasper do you know if the DPS office in Jasper ever did extended hours for people who may need to get an ID to vote? A. Absolutely not. Q. Okay. So you don't think they ever opened on Saturdays to offer photo ID? A. Absolutely not. We don't want to go there. Q. What do you mean by that? A. No comment. Q. Okay. The mobile EIC units that you mentioned before, you said the Secretary of State's office may have offered them, but it never happened, or you never heard anything: is that correct? A. Our Congressman James White's office brought it to our attention, but we didn't hear anything else, didn't know anything else about it.	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	O. And what was the nature of those conversations? Who was the person at DPS? A. I'd rather not say. Q. What was the content what was the kind of content of those conversations? A. It's a large job. There's only two women there for the whole county. Q. So did they express concerns about their capacity to issue free voter IDs? A. Yes. Q. They did? A. On a personal level, not as in their work capacity. Q. Certainly. Have you spoken with anyone from the Secretary of State's office at any time about S.B. 14? A. I have not. Now, some of my staff may have Q. Okay. Is that if one of your staff has a
3 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 9 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118	A. Yes. Q. Do you know if DPS in Jasper do you know if the DPS office in Jasper ever did extended hours for people who may need to get an ID to vote? A. Absolutely not. Q. Okay. So you don't think they ever opened on Saturdays to offer photo ID? A. Absolutely not. We don't want to go there. Q. What do you mean by that? A. No comment. Q. Okay. The mobile EIC units that you mentioned before, you said the Secretary of State's office may have offered them, but it never happened, or you never heard anything; is that correct? A. Our Congressman James White's office brought it to our attention, but we didn't hear anything else, didn't know anything else about it. Q. So the Congressman brought to your attention	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18	O. And what was the nature of those conversations? Who was the person at DPS? A. I'd rather not say. Q. What was the content what was the kind of content of those conversations? A. It's a large job. There's only two women there for the whole county. Q. So did they express concerns about their capacity to issue free voter IDs? A. Yes. Q. They did? A. On a personal level, not as in their work capacity. Q. Certainly. Have you spoken with anyone from the Secretary of State's office at any time about S.B. 14? A. I have not. Now, some of my staff may have Q. Okay. Is that if one of your staff has a concern about S.B. 14, is that something they would
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2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120	A. Yes. Q. Do you know if DPS in Jasper do you know if the DPS office in Jasper ever did extended hours for people who may need to get an ID to vote? A. Absolutely not. Q. Okay. So you don't think they ever opened on Saturdays to offer photo ID? A. Absolutely not. We don't want to go there. Q. What do you mean by that? A. No comment. Q. Okay. The mobile EIC units that you mentioned before, you said the Secretary of State's office may have offered them, but it never happened, or you never heard anything; is that correct? A. Our Congressman James White's office brought it to our attention, but we didn't hear anything else, didn't know anything else about it. Q. So the Congressman brought to your attention the possibility of having a mobile EIC station, but you didn't hear anything from the Secretary of State's	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	Conversations? Who was the person at DPS? A. I'd rather not say. Q. What was the content what was the kind of content of those conversations? A. It's a large job. There's only two women there for the whole county. Q. So did they express concerns about their capacity to issue free voter IDs? A. Yes. Q. They did? A. On a personal level, not as in their work capacity. Q. Certainly. Have you spoken with anyone from the Secretary of State's office at any time about S.B. 14? A. I have not. Now, some of my staff may have Q. Okay. Is that if one of your staff has a concern about S.B. 14, is that something they would bring to you? A. They normally will bring it to me, but they
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 111 112 13 114 115 118 119 120 121	A. Yes. Q. Do you know if DPS in Jasper do you know if the DPS office in Jasper ever did extended hours for people who may need to get an ID to vote? A. Absolutely not. Q. Okay. So you don't think they ever opened on Saturdays to offer photo ID? A. Absolutely not. We don't want to go there. Q. What do you mean by that? A. No comment. Q. Okay. The mobile EIC units that you mentioned before, you said the Secretary of State's office may have offered them, but it never happened, or you never heard anything; is that correct? A. Our Congressman James White's office brought it to our attention, but we didn't hear anything else, didn't know anything else about it. Q. So the Congressman brought to your attention the possibility of having a mobile EIC station, but you didn't hear anything from the Secretary of State's office?	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	Q. And what was the nature of those conversations? Who was the person at DPS? A. I'd rather not say. Q. What was the content what was the kind of content of those conversations? A. It's a large job. There's only two women there for the whole county. Q. So did they express concerns about their capacity to issue free voter IDs? A. Yes. Q. They did? A. On a personal level, not as in their work capacity. Q. Certainly. Have you spoken with anyone from the Secretary of State's office at any time about S.B. 14? A. I have not. Now, some of my staff may have Q. Okay. Is that if one of your staff has a concern about S.B. 14, is that something they would bring to you? A. They normally will bring it to me, but they will also take charge.
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120	A. Yes. Q. Do you know if DPS in Jasper do you know if the DPS office in Jasper ever did extended hours for people who may need to get an ID to vote? A. Absolutely not. Q. Okay. So you don't think they ever opened on Saturdays to offer photo ID? A. Absolutely not. We don't want to go there. Q. What do you mean by that? A. No comment. Q. Okay. The mobile EIC units that you mentioned before, you said the Secretary of State's office may have offered them, but it never happened, or you never heard anything; is that correct? A. Our Congressman James White's office brought it to our attention, but we didn't hear anything else, didn't know anything else about it. Q. So the Congressman brought to your attention the possibility of having a mobile EIC station, but you didn't hear anything from the Secretary of State's	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	Q. And what was the nature of those conversations? Who was the person at DPS? A. I'd rather not say. Q. What was the content what was the kind of content of those conversations? A. It's a large job. There's only two women there for the whole county. Q. So did they express concerns about their capacity to issue free voter IDs? A. Yes. Q. They did? A. On a personal level, not as in their work capacity. Q. Certainly. Have you spoken with anyone from the Secretary of State's office at any time about S.B. 14? A. I have not. Now, some of my staff may have Q. Okay. Is that if one of your staff has a concern about S.B. 14, is that something they would bring to you? A. They normally will bring it to me, but they

40 38 1 1 A. Their -- of course, physical picture, and Q. Okay. What is your understanding of -- when a 2 2 person presents an ID -their name and address and all, needs to match up with 3 A. Well, it would state your name and address, 3 our poll, the poll books. 4 4 but it wouldn't have -- it wouldn't have Social Security Q. If an election worker said the information on 5 number, or the last four digits of the Social Security 5 your ID is not substantially similar to the information 6 6 number, or -- that's all. on the poll book, what happens? 7 7 Q. Are you familiar with a requirement that A. They would vote provisionally. 8 8 this -- that the information, though, on a person's ID, Q. Okay. And is there -- if the election clerk 9 such as their name, is supposed to be substantially 9 makes the decision that the person does not have a 10 10 similar to the information on the poll book? substantially-similar ID, would anybody check that 11 A. Yes. 11 before they make the person vote provisionally? 12 And who makes -- when a voter comes in to 12 A. Well, they might on occasion call Sheila and 13 vote, what do they do? They hand their ID to an 13 make sure that they are on there or not. But then we 14 14 election worker? would let them vote provisionally. 15 A. Their ID, or their voter registration card. 15 Then that would go, you know, into after 16 16 Q. Okay. And so if they hand over their voter the election whether it was counted or not. 17 registration card, what happens next? 17 O Okay 18 18 A. They are able to vote. A. It's put in a sealed envelope. 19 19 Q. Okay. If they hand over their driver's Q. What kind of guidance did you give to election 20 20 workers about how to make a determination if an ID was license, what happens? 21 A. They are able to vote. 21 substantially similar to the voter registration list? 22 22 Q. And does the election worker look them up in A. We just visited with them one-on-one, and we 23 23 the system, or how do they -made it very important, as much as, "Don't let your 24 sister vote unless you have their photo ID." We really 24 A. Yes. 25 Q. And what do they do, they take the ID? 25 pressed those issues. 39 41 1 1 A. We have both. We have the electronic poll Q. And if -- so if a person shows up and the name 2 books, and we also have the book itself. But the last 2 on their ID, and the date of birth, and the address 3 election we went strictly -- we bought enough poll books 3 don't match what's on the voter registration list, would 4 to go strictly to the poll book. 4 that person vote a regular ballot or a provisional 5 Q. When you say go straight to the poll book, 5 6 6 what do you mean? A. Provisionally, which would also correct any --7 A. It's an electronic poll book. 7 that's like re-registering or registering to vote when 8 Q. Okay. So they would look them up in an 8 you vote provisionally. 9 9 electronic poll book? Q. So when you vote provisionally because you do 10 A. Yes. And if they didn't find them, they would 10 not have a photo ID, what do you have to do to make sure 11 call Sheila. 11 your vote is counted? 12 12 Q. Okay. So make sure that they are not somehow A. It goes -- they have a chance to bring in a 13 13 missing any error? proper ID. 14 14 Q. Okay. And if a person's name doesn't match 15 Q. Okay. And when they -- let's say somebody 15 exactly between their ID and the poll book, what does the voter have to do to vote a regular ballot? 16 hands over their voter registration card. Does the 16 17 election worker then ask them for a photo ID? 17 A. What do you mean? 18 A. Yes. 18 Q. Let me rephrase that. If a person comes in 19 Q. Since Jasper is such a small county, are there 19 and they present an ID, and they don't have an exact 20 20 times when the person might just say -match between the name on their ID and the name on the 21 21 A. No, not even their mother. poll book -- let's say their middle name is on one and 22 Q. Okay. And so if you hand over your ID, what 22 it's not included in the other. Is there anything that 23 is the information that the election workers are told 23 person has to do to vote a regular ballot? 24 24 they are supposed to check against the voter A. I would think in that instance, they would 25 registration cards? 25 have to vote provisionally.

Q. If there is not an exact name match?A. It would have to be really off.Q. So a pretty big difference?A. Yes.	1 2 3	A. Yes.Q. Do you issue certified copies of marriage
Q. So a pretty big difference?	_	
. , ,	3	
A Voc		licenses?
A. 165.	4	A. Yes.
Q. Okay. Did the county give poll workers any	5	Q. Do you know how much those cost?
mples of maybe an ID and information on the poll book	6	A. We just went up. Eight.
I say, when a voter shows up with information like	7	Q. (\$8?)
, you should accept them to vote a regular ballot,	8	A. Uh-huh.
you should tell them they have to vote a provisional	9	Q. And is that only issued how many office
ot?	10	locations do you have?
A. Not that I'm aware of.	11	A. We have one in Jasper, and we have a satellite
Q. Okay. Did the county provide election workers	12	office in Buna.
n anything like a list of nicknames, for instance,	13	Q. So would a person have to go in person to one
Hispanic names	14	of those offices?
A. No.	15	A. They would have to go to Jasper to obtain that
Q so that they had a sense of the nicknames?	16	information.
A. The Secretary of State did send some examples.	17	Q. They would have to go to Jasper?
Q. So the Secretary of State	18	A. Uh-huh.
A. Like William and Bill.	19	Q. And can you only issue
Q. Right. So the Secretary of State's office	20	A. I'm sorry. No, I'm completely wrong on that.
t some examples, but the county didn't come up with	21	We do not. We only have Jasper. That is in our
additional ones?	22	building thoughts to have a satellite location.
A. We passed that information on to our during	23	Q. Okay. So right now you only have one office?
e school.	24	A. Yes.
Q. So you gave the Secretary of State's	25	Q. Okay. So if a person needed a certified copy
43		<mark>(45</mark>
ormation to the election clerks?	1	of their marriage license, they would go to Jasper?
A. Yes.	_	A. Yes.
Q. But the county didn't provide any additional	_	Q. And can you only issue certified copies of
amples?	_	marriage licenses if they were married in Jasper County?
A. No.	5	A. Yes.
Q. Okay. And the county did not provide any sort	6	Q. So you don't have the ability to look up other
list of common nicknames for various names, or	7	counties in Texas?
ything like that?	8	A. No, only on birth.
A. We did have that like I said, we passed it	9	Q. Is there any sort of waiver if a person comes
<mark>ı verbally.</mark>	10	in and says, "I need a certified copy of my marriage
Q. From the Secretary of State's office?	11	license but I can't afford it"?
A. Yes.	12	A. No.
Q. Have you had any complaints from constituents	13	Q. On the birth certificates, you also issue
out the photo ID law?	14	certified copies of birth certificates; is that correct?
A. No.		A. Correct.
Q. Have you had any election workers complain to	16	Q. And how much do those cost?
u about having to implement S.B. 14?	17	A. Twenty-three.
A. Yes.	18	Q. And that would also be available only at the
Q. And what were those complaints?	19	one county office?
A Wall it's just extra work	20	A. Yes.
A. Well, it's just extra work.		
Q. And when they say it's extra work, why is it	21	Q. And I believe you said that you can look that
Q. And when they say it's extra work, why is it tra work?	22	up for anywhere in the state?
Q. And when they say it's extra work, why is it	_	
	say, when a voter shows up with information like , you should accept them to vote a regular ballot, you should tell them they have to vote a provisional of? A. Not that I'm aware of. Q. Okay. Did the county provide election workers in anything like a list of nicknames, for instance, Hispanic names A. No. Q so that they had a sense of the nicknames? A. The Secretary of State did send some examples. Q. So the Secretary of State A. Like William and Bill. Q. Right. So the Secretary of State's office It some examples, but the county didn't come up with additional ones? A. We passed that information on to our during eschool. Q. So you gave the Secretary of State's 43 commation to the election clerks? A. Yes. Q. But the county didn't provide any additional amples? A. No. Q. Okay. And the county did not provide any sort list of common nicknames for various names, or ything like that? A. We did have that like I said, we passed it inverbally. Q. From the Secretary of State's office? A. Yes. Q. Have you had any complaints from constituents out the photo ID law? A. No. Q. Have you had any election workers complain to u about having to implement S.B. 14?	say, when a voter shows up with information like , you should accept them to vote a regular ballot, you should tell them they have to vote a provisional ot? A. Not that I'm aware of. O. Okay. Did the county provide election workers in anything like a list of nicknames, for instance, Hispanic names A. No. O so that they had a sense of the nicknames? A. The Secretary of State did send some examples. O. So the Secretary of State A. Like William and Bill. O. Right. So the Secretary of State's office t some examples, but the county didn't come up with additional ones? A. We passed that information on to our during school. O. So you gave the Secretary of State's 43 ormation to the election clerks? A. Yes. O. But the county didn't provide any additional amples? A. No. O. Okay. And the county did not provide any sort list of common nicknames for various names, or ything like that? A. We did have that like I said, we passed it overbally. O. From the Secretary of State's office? A. Yes. O. Have you had any complaints from constituents out the photo ID law? A. No. O. Have you had any election workers complain to ur about having to implement S.B. 14? A. Yes.

46	48
Q. If the name is too long, you cannot issue it?	1 and their brothers. And there's been occasions where
A. Yes.	2 I've married and buried them.
Q. How come?	3 Q. So there have been instances in the past where
A. We can issue it on our part as far as on the	4 you've paid for someone to get a birth certificate
paper, but we can't do it from the secretary from the	5 because they needed one?
6 state's part because the forms just will not allow the	6 A. Yeah.
7 printer to do it.	Q. So you in your experience, there are people
Q. So if you printed one of these, would it be	8 (in the state who don't have birth certificates?
9 considered a certified copy?	9 A. I would say yes.
A. I'm sorry, I don't understand.	10 Q. Okay. If a person
Q. If somebody's name is too long and they come	11 A. Can I make an objection? Why are we on
(in saying, "I need a certified copy of my birth)	12 marriage licenses and not voter ID?
certificate," can you issue one?	13 Q. Well, are you aware that to get a free voter
A. No. Not unless I can issue it if it's in	14 ID, voters have to present certain documents to get one?
15 Jasper County, but if it's from another county, like	15 A. Yes.
Harden County, Newton County, something like that, it	16 Q. And do you know which documents those are?
won't let us print that out.	17 A. Well, yes, I do. And birth certificate is
18 Q. Okay.	18 one.
A. They have to go back or delayed birth, they	19 Q. And are you aware that if a person's name has
20 have to go back to the county they were born in.	20 changed since birth, that they might have to provide
21 Q. So if somebody was born outside of Jasper	21 both a certified copy of their birth certificate and
22 County, you would have to look that up in the Secretary	22 something else?
23 of State, and if the name is too long, you can't print	23 A. Okay, I gotcha.
24 it?	24 Q. Okay. But if you have questions, please feel
25 A. Uh-huh.	25 free to let me know.
 Q. Are you familiar that the state has waived or has reduced the fees for birth certificates if the 	1 A. Oh, I will. 2 Q. So your staff issues birth certificates; is
person is using the birth certificate to get a free	3 (that correct?)
4 voter ID?	4 A. Yes.
A. No, I'm not.	Q. And is your staff trained to issue the
6 MS. HOUSTON: Yeah.	6 reduced-fee birth certificates if a person needs one for
7 A. She knows more than I do.	7 a photo ID?
8 Q. (By Ms. Simson) So you were not previously	8 A. No. I didn't know anything about it. There's
9 aware that the state has reduced the fees for birth	a possibility that the other girls did.
10 certificates?	Q. Has the county done anything to advertise that
11 A. No.	if a person needs a birth certificate to get a photo ID
12 Q. So	to vote, that the county offers reduced-fee birth
A. On occasion, I pay for them myself.	13 certificates?
Q. You pay for people to get birth certificates?	14 A. No.
A. If there is a situation, I will pay for it	15 Q. Okay. If a person shows up at the poll I
myself.	16 know you've said multiple times that it's a small
Q. And has that come up in the past?	17 county, people tend to know each other.
A. Yes. I know everybody.	18 If a person shows up at the poll and
Q. And what were the reasons the person didn't	19 maybe their name has changed because of marriage and so
(have a birth certificate?)	20 the name on the voter list is different than the name on
A. They may never have gotten one. They may be	21 their ID, is it common that the person who's looking at
very poor. And there is they don't know who to go to	22 their ID would know them?
or where to go to to get any assistance.	23 A. It's common that we know them, but we do a
You know, they're young. I know all	24 correction.
their mothers and their grandmothers and their daddies	Q. Okay. So you would do a correction. But if

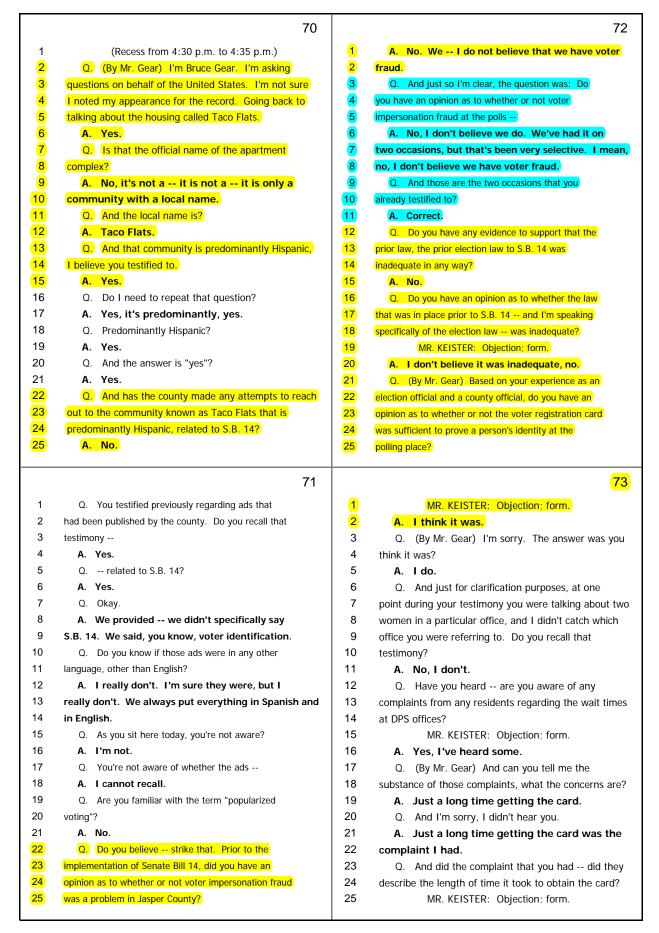


1 2 3 4 5 6 7	A. If they were out of the county, I would say that would be a mail-out ballot to them. Q. Are you familiar with the religious objection under S.B. 14, or Senate Bill 14? A. That question has been asked, and I said no.
3 4 5 6 7 8	that would be a mail-out ballot to them. Q. Are you familiar with the religious objection under S.B. 14, or Senate Bill 14? A. That question has been asked, and I said no.
4 5 6 7 8	Q. Are you familiar with the religious objection under S.B. 14, or Senate Bill 14? A. That question has been asked, and I said no.
5 6 7 8	under S.B. 14, or Senate Bill 14? A. That question has been asked, and I said no.
6 7 8	A. That question has been asked, and I said no.
7 8	
8	
	Q. Do you know how an individual would go about
	obtaining a religious exemption
9	A. No, I don't.
10	Q under S.B. 14?
11	A. No, I don't.
12	Q. Have you provided any training to your poll
13	workers or election judges regarding exemptions under
14	S.B. 14, or Senate Bill 14?
15	A. I've already answered that. Yes, I have.
16	Q. And what was that training based upon?
17	A. What we received from the Secretary of State.
18	Q. Are you aware of whether any voter in Jasper
19	County has applied for a disability exemption?
20	A. No, there has not. Other than not under
21	S.B not under that, no, no. We have had them apply
22	through a doctor, but not under this.
23	Q. If I understood your testimony correctly, you
24	understand that the disability exemption under S.B. 14
25	to require a doctor's something from a doctor?
1	A. Yes.
	Q. Do you have any opinion as to whether or not
	it's difficult to obtain a natural disaster exemption?
-	A. I would say no.
	Q. And what's that understanding based upon?
-	A. We try to provide everybody with the right to
-	vote.
	Q. Has anybody claimed a natural disaster
	exemption in your county?
	A. Has there been one?
	Q. Been one, correct.
	A. No. It just so happens, we haven't had a
	natural disaster during an election.
	Q. Do you know who has the authority to authorize
	the availability of a natural disaster exemption?
	A. Our county judge, and our commissioners. Ou
	county judge has the authority, the full authority.
	Q. Okay. And in discussing the election
20	identification certificates, it's my understanding
21	you're not familiar with that term; is that correct?
21	A. I'm familiar with it.
22	Q. Do you have any understanding as to the
	13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

58	60
truth. I'm not going to profess I do, other than	1 Q. Correct?
applying for one I don't know if we have a form for	2 A. Yes.
it or not. We don't have a form.	3 Q. You talked about delayed birth, and I may have
Q. Do you have any understanding as to where an	4 misunderstood that. Could you explain to me what
applicant would apply for an election identification	5 delayed birth a delayed birth certificate is?
certificate?	6 A. That would be somebody who applied for a birth
A. Well, I suppose with us, or with the Secretary	7 certificate after they were grown. I'm just going to do
of State, DPS.	8 a simple synopsis of it.
Q. Are you aware of any voters or applicants	9 They would apply for a birth certificate
requesting an election identification certificate from	10 after they were grown. They would have to get
your office?	11 verification and witnesses saying who their mother and
A. No.	12 their father were, afterwards.
Q. Have you trained your employees on how to	13 That is a delayed birth, and it would go
issue election identification certificates?	14 in our records later on in their life. Sometimes they
A. We don't issue them because we do not have the	15 didn't get one until they were 65 years old when they
software to do that, or the means to do that.	16 started to get Social Security.
Q. Okay.	17 Q. And under what circumstances would somebody
A. Or the funds.	18 seek a delayed birth certificate?
Q. And when you say "or the funds," can you	19 MR. KEISTER: Objection; form. Calls for
explain a little bit more, please?	20 speculation.
A. Correct. We are on a limited budget.	21 Q. (By Mr. Gear) If you know.
Q. And that does not include the ability to issue	22 A. What would cause them to get one?
election identification certificates?	Q. Under what circumstances would someone need to
A. No, I don't suppose we would have to I	24 seek a delayed birth certificate?
mean, it costs money to do that. You'd have to have	25 A. They might want it for genealogy. They might
59	61
cameras, you would have to have someone trained to do	1 want it for Social Security. They might want it for
that. I would have to have another person to do that.	2 their children, various reasons.
Q. And one more line of questioning regarding the	3 Q. Have you ever heard the term "midwife"?
election identification certificates. Do you have any	4 A. Yes.
election identification certificates. Do you have any understanding of what the underlying document an	4 A. Yes.5 Q. Do you want me to repeat the question?
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62		64
our office and submit it to Austin.	1	taxi actually picks up and drops off in terms of Jasper
Q. And is is that a \$23 fee to accomplish	2	County as a whole?
that?	3	A. No, sir.
A. I believe it's a \$25 fee.	4	Q. Would you agree that a person living in rural
Q. A \$5 fee?	5	Jasper County who lacked transportation but needed to
A. Twenty-five. It does not go to us, it goes to	6	get to the DPS office, that that could be a substantial
the state.	7	cost, as far as taxi service is concerned?
Q. Do you know how long that process generally	8	MR. KEISTER: Objection; form.
takes?	9	A. I'm not aware of the cost.
A. It could be 30 days, it could be six months.	10	Q. (By Mr. Gear) But you agree there would be a
I don't know. It's a variation of it.	11	cost associated for an individual who has to get a taxi
Q. And have you actually had a situation where a	12	service and needs to get to DPS?
Jasper County resident needed a birth certificate	13	MR. KEISTER: Objection; form. Vague.
because they were born at home?	14	Calls for speculation.
A. Yes.	15	Q. (By Mr. Gear) You can answer.
Q. And it could take anywhere from 30 days to six	<mark>16</mark>	A. I'm sure it would cost.
months because of the variation?	17	Q. Your answer is "yes"?
A. Yes.	18	A. Yes.
Q. What type could you explain that variation	19	Q. Would you agree that there is a cost to obtain
to me? I'm not sure I understood that.	20	a Texas driver's license?
A. Well, that goes to the state. It doesn't have	21	A. From my own personal experience, yes.
anything to do with us. So from the point of going to	22	Q. And do you know what the cost to obtain a
the state, it's left up to the state to issue that, not	23	Texas driver's license is?
us. We do get a copy of it to file in our records for	24	A. I'm not sure.
permanent keeping.	25	Q. From your own personal experience, how much
Q. If I understood that last part of your testimony, you would file a record of that birth	2	A. I would say \$16.Q. \$16?
certificate in at your office for permanent keeping.	3	A. I believe so.
Did I understand that correctly?	4	Q. Would you also agree that there is a cost to
A. The state would furnish us that, yes. And	5	obtain a Texas state ID?
from that point, we could issue a birth certificate to	6	A. I'm not aware that there is a cost for a Texas
that person, from then on, if he should need it, or her	7	state ID.
should need it for any other instances.	8	Q. Could you clarify for me where the DPS office
Q. Okay. Focusing on the transportation system,	9	is located in Jasper County?
the public transportation system in Jasper County. 1	10	A. It is located approximately five miles one
understood your testimony to be that there are no public	11	mile out of the city limits. Maybe not a mile, maybe
buses available in Jasper County.	12	hundred yards, out of the city limits.
A. Correct.	13	Q. Are you aware of the poverty rate in Jasper
Q. And I understood your testimony to be that	14	County? Do you have any knowledge of that?
there is a taxi service in Jasper County.	15	A. No, I don't. I'm not an expert in that.
A. One taxi service, that I'm aware of.	16	Q. Describing the county demographically, is
Q. And do you know if that's based where that	17	there any location in Jasper County that's likely to
taxi service is based in Jasper County?	18	have individuals who live below the poverty line?
A. Jasper, Texas.	19	A. I'm sure there are, but I'm not sure where
Q. Is it the City of Jasper? It's in Jasper	20	they're at. That's not my expertise of location of
County?	21	poverty.
A. City of Jasper.	22	Q. So, for instance, do you have any low-income
Q. I'm not sure I understand your testimony.	23	(housing in Jasper County, that you're aware of?)
A. City of Jasper.	24	A. We do.
Q. Do you have any understanding as to where that	25	Q. And can you tell me where those low-income

	66		68
1 hou	sing facilities are located?	1	Q. Would you describe
	A. One on two on 190 east and west.	2	A. I have not been in there. I have not been in
	Q. East and west?	3	and gone door to door
	A. Yes.	4	Q. Okay.
	Q.) And is that located in any particular city?	5	A to know who lives there.
	A. Jasper.	6	Q. But you described certain areas of the city as
	Q. Jasper?	7	being predominantly white or predominantly black. Would
	A. And there's also one called Sweetbriar on MLK.	8	Hope Village fall into the area that you described as
	me correct myself. There are four within the city.	9	predominantly African-American or black?
	Q. Have you or the county made any attempts to	10	A. Yes.
	ch out to these low-income housing complexes	11	Q. Did you say one of the housing complexes is
	arding S.B. 14?	12	Switchburn (sic)?
		13	A. Sweetbriar.
	A. No.		
	Q. And can you tell me because I don't know,	14	Q. Okay. And would that be in an area that you
	se low-income housing complexes, can you tell me the	15	would describe as predominantly white or predominantly
	al make-up of these complexes?	16	black?
	A. I don't know.	17	A. Black.
	Q. Can you tell me the percentage of	18	Q. Then you identified one of the complexes as
	can-Americans, or minorities in general, in Jasper	19	being on the east end. Do you remember the name of that
20 Cou	<mark>nty?</mark>	20	complex?
21	A. I'm thinking, just a moment.	21	A. Merits Village.
<mark>22</mark>	MR. KEISTER: Bruce, when you get to a	22	Q. And would you describe that as being an area
23 con	venient stopping place, I need to take a break.	23	that's predominantly white or predominantly black?
24 We'	ve been going for a while.	24	A. It's both, mixed.
<mark>25</mark>	MR. GEAR: Let her answer this question.	25	Q. What about the housing complex you described
1 2 you	MR. KEISTER: I understand. I'm giving the heads up. I'm crossing my legs.	1 2	on the west end, do you know the name of that housing complex?
	A. I really don't know. I would say racially, 30	3	A. Manor Apartments.
	5 percent black. It's depending on which end of the	4	Q. Would you describe that in an area that's
	nty you're talking about.	5	predominantly white or predominantly black?
6	The south end of the county is primarily	6	A. Manor Apartments is mixed.
	te. The north end of the county is a big portion of	7	Q. When you say mixed, you're talking minority
	ck. But I'm not familiar with how many.	8	and white population
	2. (By Mr. Gear) When you talked about 190 east,	9	A. Yes.
	t end of town would those be on?	10	Q non-Hispanic population? And just to
	A. There is one there is actually four.	11	finish up this line of questioning, could you tell me
	2. Okay. A. And one is east of the Jasper City limits.	12 13	generally what the percentage of Hispanic population is
	<u> </u>		in Jasper County?
	e is within the city limits of Jasper, west.	14	A. Very few.
	2.) That's two.	15	Q. Very few. And I guess
	A. Okay. Sweetbriar is on MLK. And Hope	16	A. Are you talking legal or illegal?
	age, the projects, is within the city limits.	17	Q. Do you know what percentage the population is?
	2. That's Hope Village?	18	A. Are you talking legal or illegal?
	A. Hope Village. And Merits Village, which is	19	Q. Well, you tell me.
	h black and white, and that's east.	20	A. I don't know.
<mark>21</mark> (Q. I know people want to take a break. Hope	21	Q. When you say very few
	ge, are you familiar with the general racial makeup	22	A. There is a community called Taco Flats, which
22 Villa			
Villa of H	ope Village?	23	is primarily Spanish.
Villa of H	ope Village? A. Mostly black, but I'm not going to say for	23 24	is primarily Spanish. MR. GEAR: Okay. Maybe this is a good



	94		96
1	is aware of the need, or the requirement to show photo	1	somebody committing a crime, you don't necessarily know;
2	ID when you vote?	2	right?
3	A. They know to show ID.	3	A. No.
4	Q. Okay.	4	Q. I guess I don't need to give you an example.
5	A. It's just something that has been years and	5	A. We pride ourselves in our voters. We pride
6	years and years and years of doing it, and they know to	6	ourselves in it.
7	show ID. And so you don't have a big problem with that.	7	MR. KEISTER: Okay. Ms. Newman, I
8	Q. Okay. Do you see a need for Jasper County to	8	appreciate your patience. I pass the witness.
9	spend money to undertake additional voter education,	9	MS. SIMSON: Bruce, do you have any more
10	advertising, or programs to educate the public about the	10	questions?
11	requirement?	11	MR. GEAR: I do not have any follow-up
12	A. Who are we talking about paying?	12	questions.
13	Q. The county.	13	FURTHER EXAMINATION
14	A. The county does not have the money to do it.	14	BY MS. SIMSON:
15	Q. Okay.	15	Q. I just have a few more. It will be very
16	A. In my opinion. We have not had a big problem	16	brief. The first question is: If voters if you feel
17	with it.	17	that most voters or all voters let me rephrase that.
18	Q. Okay.	18	Do you think that all of the registered
19	A. Do you want my personal opinion?	19	voters in the county are aware that they now need to
20	Q. Go ahead.	20	bring a photo ID to vote?
21	A. I think everybody has a right to vote. As	21	A. I am pretty sure that most of them do. Just
22 23	long as they're a legal citizen, I think they have the	22	it might not have been advertised as well as it should
23	right to vote. We have a hard enough time getting someone to vote now.	23	have been.
25	You can see what our numbers are out of	25	And I'm at fault there, and I'll take the blame for it. But word of mouth and the news media on
	95		97
1	35,000 people. It costs just as much to put on one	1	television nowadays, they knew.
2	election for a thousand people than it does for 35,000	2	Q. And do you think that if a person knew that a
3	people.	3	photo ID is now required and they did not have an ID,
4	We have to estimate that. We have to	4	would they go to vote on election day?
5	guesstimate how many are going to vote. And if they	5	A. If they didn't have one? I really don't know
6	don't, we have to get more ballots.	6	if they would try to do that or not.
7 8	Q. Okay. Putting money aside for a moment, do	7	Q. And you said before that your election workers
9	you see forgetting the cost, do you see or think	8	are told that even if they know the person, they have
10	there is a need to educate to more educate the voters in Jasper County that they need to bring one of these	10	got to require photo ID?
11	particular forms of ID that they come to vote?	11	A. That's right. Q. So if a person doesn't have a photo ID, they
12	A. There is always room for education.	12	may think it's not really worth their time to try to go
13	Q. All right.	13	vote because they know they will be turned away?
14	A. But as far as a problem with it in our county,	14	A. I don't know.
15	we have not had it.	15	Q. Okay. The last thing, I'm just going to enter
16	Q. Okay. With respect to in-person fraud, you	16	this as Exhibit 3.
17	stated two instances that you're aware of. Certainly	17	(Newman Deposition Exhibit No. 3 was
18	there could be other instances that you're not aware of,	18	marked and is made a part of this deposition.)
19	these are just two you're aware of; correct?	19	Q. (By Ms. Simson) We'll only go over about two
20	A. I'm pretty sure there are not.	20	of these. If you look at Exhibit 3 on the first page,
	Q. Could there have been some before you became	21	it says, "example one, information on poll book," and
21			
21 22	county clerk?	22	then beneath that it says, "information on the driver's
	county clerk? A. I don't think so. She was more strict than I	22 23	license".
22	•	_	

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between the information on the poll book and the	1 A. I'm sure they would.
information on the driver's license?	Q. Okay. If we could turn to Page 4, Example 4,
A. Uh-huh.	3 it says "Example 4" at the top. And do you see that it
Q. And you see that the date of birth matches?	says, "information on the poll book," and it has a name
A. Uh-huh.	5 that is different from there's a first name that's
Q. And do you see that there are different	different from the name on the driver's license?
addresses listed?	7 A. Uh-huh.
A. I do.	8 Q. And then do you see that the date of births
Q. If a person came into the poll place and	9 are different?
presented this driver's license to vote, do you think	A. Uh-huh.
that they would be allowed to vote a regular ballot or a	Q. And then you see that the addresses are the
provisional ballot?	12 same?
MR. KEISTER: Objection; form.	(13) A. Yes.
A. I would think they would vote provisionally.	Q. In this circumstance, do you think that an
Q. (By Ms. Simson) And why do you say that?	election worker would allow the person to vote a regular
A. Well, the names are not the same, the	ballot or a provisional ballot?
addresses are not the same.	MR. KEISTER: Objection; form.
Q. Okay.	A. I don't think they would let them vote becau
A. You don't know if they are living within the	the date of births are different. That could be a
same precinct now.	father and son. And we have a lot of that in you
Q. And is that if you're not sure if they are	21 know, just like my son is William Mitchell Newman
voting in the same precinct, is that something that the	22 (third.
election clerk asks them about?	23 Q. (By Ms. Simson) Okay.
A. Yes.	24 A. But they know that this is a son and a father
Q. Okay. And if the person said, "Yeah, my	21 71. Dut they know that this is a soft and a father
99	25 Q. And then the last
99	
99 address changed"	1 A. Or grandfather.
address changed" A. They do a residency card.	 A. Or grandfather. Q. Sorry. The last example on Page 7, Example 7,
address changed" A. They do a residency card. Q. Okay. And do you think in that circumstance	 A. Or grandfather. Q. Sorry. The last example on Page 7, Example 7, do you see that it says, "information on the poll book,
A. They do a residency card. Q. Okay. And do you think in that circumstance they would still have them vote a provisional ballot	 A. Or grandfather. Q. Sorry. The last example on Page 7, Example 7, do you see that it says, "information on the poll book, name Beto Ramirez, information on driver's license,
address changed" A. They do a residency card. Q. Okay. And do you think in that circumstance they would still have them vote a provisional ballot even if they said their address changed?	 A. Or grandfather. Q. Sorry. The last example on Page 7, Example 7, do you see that it says, "information on the poll book, name Beto Ramirez, information on driver's license, Roberto Ramirez"?
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A. They do a residency card. Q. Okay. And do you think in that circumstance they would still have them vote a provisional ballot even if they said their address changed? A. In this instance? Q. Yeah. A. In this instance, I think they would have them vote provisionally. It will give more names. Q. What was that? A. It's a possibility it will probably show 'Johnson' on there, too. Q. Okay. So it's possible that if the voter what would have more information? A. I really don't know. Hold on a minute. I've been advised that this Johnson name would probably show up with the Villarreal name. However, it's really left up to the judge. Q. Okay. So the election judge would look at that and make a determination? A. Right.	A. Or grandfather. Q. Sorry. The last example on Page 7, Example 7, do you see that it says, "information on the poll book, name Beto Ramirez, information on driver's license, Roberto Ramirez"? A. Uh-huh. Q. And then do you see that the date of birth is the same? A. Yes. Q. And then you see that the addresses are different? A. Yes. Q. In this circumstance, do you think the person would vote a regular ballot or provisional ballot? MR. KEISTER: Object to form. A. If they had their driver's license, we would the voter registration card, or on the poll book. Q. (By Ms. Simson) So if a person presents a driver's license, you could look up their driver's license number on the poll book?